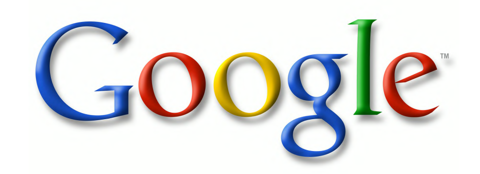


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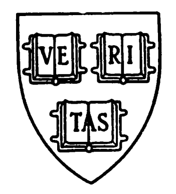
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POR

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AL SEÑOR

D. JOSÉ CONTAMINE DE LATOUR.

Veintisiete años hace que una amistad fraternal nos une, y habitamos bajo un mismo techo; tu prudencia ha templado muchas veces las impetuosidades de mi carácter y me ha hecho más reflexivo y razonable: ¿á quién, pues, sino á tí puedo yo dedicar este primer trabajo?

Acéptalo, por tanto, como testimonio de amistad de tu afectísimo

S. P. JUNQUERA.

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PRELIMINAR.

Extraño ha de parecer seguramente á los hombres de ciencia, á los cultivadores de la historia y á los críticos, que persona indocta, sin título alguno profesional ni académico que posponer á su nombre, y que como mote ó leyenda á guisa de porta-estandarte pregone á los futuros sus méritos y servicios, se permita dar á luz una reimpresion, anteponiéndole el presente preliminar; pero su extrañeza cesará seguramente, y unos y otros disculparán tal propósito, cuando aprecien que sólo el objeto de serles útil me ha determinado á hacerlos, y puedan con tal motivo saborear detenidamente un curiosísimo libro sobre el *orígen de los americanos*, que, desconocido de los más y apreciado de pocos, próximo estaba á desaparecer si no se reimprimiera. Por tanto, pues, y en atencion á que ningun agradecimiento

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pide quien ningun título tiene para aspirar á él, espero acojan benignos estos renglones, que escritos sin pretension, ni son memorial de aspirante, ni preliminar de docto; sólo sí el manifiesto deseo de que por su medio se conozca esta pequeña obrita de un célebre judío portugues, que escribió muchas y muy buenas, segun noticias, y cuya biografía y escritos, extractados de quien á este género de estudios se dedicó, así como al conocimiento de los autores rabinos españoles y portugueses, irán, así como su retrato, despues de este preliminar (*).

Casi siempre empezaban sus tareas nuestros escritores de los pasados siglos haciendo la señal de la cruz, con el objeto, sin duda, de evitar la influencia de los malos espíritus sobre los puntos de su pluma; y yo á mi vez, si no á manera de conjuro, al ménos como cristiano viejo, con el fin de evitar cualquiera torcida

(*) En la composicion de este libro, hecha fielmente á plana y renglon, se han respetado hasta los defectos ortográficos y tipográficos de la época, para que nuestros filólogos no dejen de poder saborear cómo se hablaba y escribía nuestro idioma á mediados del siglo XVII por los rabinos emigrados en Holanda, si bien en la composicion actual se ha prescindido del uso de caractéres que la moderna Tipografía ya no emplea.

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interpretacion que á mis palabras darse pudiera, créome en el deber de dar á los lectores cuenta detallada de las razones, causas y motivos que, influyendo en mí de una manera poderosa, me han conducido como de la mano á la realizacion de este pensamiento, que es ajeno por completo á mis habituales ocupaciones.

Entreteníame en los primeros dias del presente año en hojear un catálogo de libros raros que había recibido por el correo, cuando llamó mi atencion el título siguiente: «*Menasseh, Ben Israel, Esperanza de Israel*, Amsterdam, 5410.» El nombre de este autor, del que hacía años había tenido otra rarísima obra, cuyo título es: *Piedra Gloriosa ó la Estatua de Nebuc-hanessar*, sin que haya visto despues más ejemplar que aquél, excitó mi curiosidad en tal manera, que me dirigí instintivamente á consultar el tomo primero de la *Biblioteca Rabínica* del Sr. Rodriguez Castro. Encontré afortunadamente en la página 550 y siguientes de la citada Biblioteca la biografía del rabino portugues y noticia detallada de sus escritos, con la agradable sorpresa al propio tiempo de que el libro anunciado en el catálogo que á la mano tenía, era por su asunto tan raro y curioso como desconocido de los bibliófilos. Entusias-

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mado con mi hallazgo, me dediqué por espacio de algun tiempo á revolver los catálogos y tratados de bibliografía que para consulta tengo; pero inútiles mis pesquisas por no hallar en ellos ni en las noticias de los ilustrados americanistas y bibliófilos, á quienes acudí más tarde, dato alguno acerca de tan curioso volúmen, me decidí apresuradamente á pedirle por el correo, teniendo la suerte de que á los pocos dias y en perfecto estado de conservacion llegase á mi poder.

Dueño ya, por fin, del codiciado volúmen, comencé lleno de curiosidad su lectura, notando desde luégo el peregrino ingenio del rabino portugues, que apoyado en el relato de su compatriota Aharon Leví, alias Antonio Montezinos, y citando las relaciones é historias de los primeros tiempos del descubrimiento y conquista de los países de América, Asia y Oceanía, había conseguido elaborar una sábia y metódica disertacion, en que no se sabe qué admirar más, si la fé del rabino en acumular textos, haciéndolos concurrir por medio de sus conocimientos de los *Thargum* (a) á probar que la raza hebrea fué la pobladora de aquellas regiones, en cuyo interior, no explorado todavía, espera la venida del Mesías, la redencion de las tribus y el dominio universal, ó

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bien la sólida y vastísima instruccion del autor, que aparte de las citas bíblicas que abundantemente hace, da muestra evidente á cada paso de conocer, así las principales obras de los sábios rabinos de su secta, como de haber leido y consultado con especial esmero las más notables historias y relaciones escritas hasta su tiempo, tanto acerca de la poblacion, ritos, costumbres y usos de aquellas lejanas tierras, como de la conquista y diversos modos con que los europeos, tártaros y otros pueblos han ido tomando posesion de aquellos para Europa, hasta los siglos XV y XVI, desconocidos países.

Principia el rabino su obra rebatiendo las opiniones de Alejo de Vanégas, Arias Montano, Jonatás Ben Uziel, R. Joseph Coen y Francisco de Ribera, acerca de los orígenes de los americanos; aduce despues la opinion de Montezinos, la que supone más probable fundándola en el libro cuarto de Esdras y apoyándola con la autoridad del padre Maluenda, citando el capítulo 18 del libro tercero de las *Antigüedades* y corroborando su opinion con las relaciones de varios, que hicieron viajes á América. En la página 46 da cuenta de los diversos tiempos del cautiverio de las diez tribus y de su constancia en observar la ley de Moises, y se ocupa

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luégo, hasta la página 114, de la reduccion de estas diez tribus á la Tierra Santa, deduciendo de esta exposicion que las Indias Occidentales fueron de muy antiguo habitadas por individuos de las diez tribus; que desde Tartaria fueron á América atravesando el estrecho de Anian, en cuyas partes, no exploradas aún, viven ocultos; que estos individuos dispersos no habitan en un solo punto, sino en diversos; que los primeros dispersos no volvieron al segundo templo, aunque sus descendientes conservan la religion judáica, siendo forzosa su reduccion á la patria.

Termina la obra recapitulando brevemente la relacion de Montezinos, y apoyándola en la autoridad de diferentes autores deduce ser la más probable, esto es, que los pobladores primitivos de la América fueron parte de las diez tribus, á quienes siguieron los tártaros, que les hicieron la guerra, por lo que vencidos se ocultaron de nuevo en los países más escabrosos y difíciles, detras de las montañas.

Y hasta tal extremo me sorprendió su lectura, por la manera de tratar el asunto y por el método de exposicion que en el libro encontré, que la idea de reimprimirle se presentó á mi imaginacion como realizable, sin que pudieran sustraerme á

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ella las dificultades inherentes á esta clase de trabajos: consulté al efecto con personas para mí de gran respeto y reconocida capacidad, y hallándola aceptable y práctica, me animaron á que la llevase á cabo sin vacilaciones de ninguna especie, y héme aquí por esta rara coincidencia convertido en reimpresor del presente libro, empresa que hace bien poco tiempo hubiera tenido por un sueño.

Expuesta con sinceridad la causa que me ha determinado á emprender esta ruda tarea, debo advertir del propio modo la manera cómo pretendo llevarla á feliz término, esquivando en primer lugar las citas de los autores contemporáneos, así en el curso de la obra como en las pequeñas notas que con ella irán; lo uno, porque temo no haber visto ni conocer de nombre, quizá, los muchos autores que de la América se han ocupado en la presente centuria; lo otro, porque dando la preferencia á los nacionales sobre los extranjeros, ó á éstos sobre aquéllos, tachárseme podría de apasionado de los unos ó de los otros en particular; y por último, ¿á qué negarlo? porque admirador de los autores antiguos, contemporáneos de la conquista, y observadores, cada cual bajo su punto de mira, de los hechos de que fueron al parecer testigos ó verídicos narradores,

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tengo la conviccion de que los modernos escritores, que de usos y costumbres de aquellas regiones se ocupan, nada esencial á lo relatado por aquéllos añaden, y, más que otro, el carácter de polemistas críticos presentan, salvas honrosas excepciones.

No dejaré de manifestar asimismo, que nada nuevo ni bueno se encontrará en estas líneas que me pertenezca, pues el catálogo bibliográfico y las pequeñas notas que van con ellas, tomadas de autores competentes, á mi manera de ver, son tarea bien fácil para quien, á una regular biblioteca, añada un poco de buen sentido en el manejo de los autores que de historia y bibliografía americano-oceánica se han ocupado.

Réstame no más, para poner término á este ya largo preámbulo, dar conocimiento á los lectores del motivo, fútil al parecer, pero de gran fuerza para mí, que me ha puesto la pluma en la mano: tal ha sido haber visto, no sin gran sorpresa de mi parte, que en la ilustrada Alemania ¡y esto en el último tercio del siglo XIX! se ha hecho una mocion al Parlamento, que es más bien una nueva nota de proscripcion para la raza de los hijos de Israel, de la que, si bien puede decirse que ha revestido desde los tiempos de su disper-

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sion un carácter poco envidiable, segun el testimonio de Memmio (b) en una de sus cartas á Ciceron, preciso es confesar tambien que, conscientemente ó á pesar suyo, la familia hebrea ha ejercido una gran influencia civilizadora en los países por donde se ha dispersado; así lo testifican los sabios y eminentes escritores cuyas biografías nos refieren los Wolfio, Bartolocio y Rodriguez Castro. Protestando, pues, en nombre de la caridad y fraternidad cristianas, y por honra de nuestro siglo, de semejante mocion, daré fin á este preámbulo, no sin ántes dirigir á los hombres de razon serena y recto corazon esta pregunta:

¿Será destino providencial de los pueblos, que victoriosos completan su unidad, que en vez de vivir tranquilos y felices mejorando sus condiciones, hayan, por la intolerancia de los diversos elementos que los constituyen, de iniciar su disgregacion ó decadencia?

SANTIAGO PEREZ JUNQUERA.

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BIOGRAFÍA

DE

MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL,

JUDÍO PORTUGUES.

«Nació en la ciudad de Lisboa, en »1605, donde residía su padre Joseph: »desde su tierna edad se dedicó al estu»dio de la Retórica, y despues de haber »sido en su juventud castigado tres veces »por la Inquisicion, se retiró á Amster»dam con su mujer Raquel Soeiro y su »familia. En Amsterdam aprendió Me»nasseh la lengua hebrea y fué instruido »en el *Talmud* por Isaac Usiel: para »poder vivir con mayor desahogo tuvo

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»que dedicarse al comercio, formando »compañía con su cuñado Efrain Sueiro, »á quien envió á comerciar al Brasil; y »por último, en 1656 pasó á Inglaterra »con los principales mercaderes indios, »encargado de los negocios de su nacion, »á instancias de Oliver Cromwell, quien »poco despues expulsó á Menasseh de »Inglaterra ignominiosamente, pasando »éste á Magdeburg, donde falleció á los »cincuenta y tres años.» Hasta aquí las noticias de Wolfio en su *Biblioteca Hebrea*.

Las noticias literarias que da Menasseh de sí mismo, segun el Sr. Rodriguez Castro en su *Biblioteca Rabínica*, son las siguientes:

«Estuvo instruido en las lenguas he»brea, arábiga, griega, latina, española »y portuguesa: de edad de diez y ocho »años fué nombrado por predicador de la »Sinagoga, ministerio que ejerció por es-

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»pacio de veinticinco años con los mayo-
»res aplausos; en el año 1641 le hicieron
»miembro de la Academia ó Escuela de
»los Judíos españoles en Amsterdam, y
»en ella poco despues fué condecorado
»con el carácter de Maestro, esto es, *Ha-
»ban*, que es lo mismo que expositor del
»*Talmud*. Escribió más de trescientas
»cartas eruditas á diferentes doctos de
»Europa sobre materias literarias; com-
»puso y dijo más de cuatrocientos cin-
»cuenta sermones, ó predicaciones (como
»él dice), en la Sinagoga de dicha ciudad
»de Amsterdam, en la que estableció á
»sus expensas una imprenta, y en ella
»imprimió tres *Biblias* hebreas, tres *Hu-
»masim* ó *Pentateucos* hebreos, y uno es-
»pañol con notas marginales; varios li-
»bros de rezo para uso de los judíos, con
»otros muchos pertenecientes á sus ritos
»y ceremonias. Escribió un libro intitula-
»do *De la divinidad de la Ley de Moy-*

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»*sés;* unas notas á las *Antigüedades Ju-*
»*dáicas* de Flavio Josepho; la continua-
»cion de la obra de éste hasta su tiempo;
»la obra del *Conciliador;* una *Biblioteca*
»*Rabiña;* una *Suma de la Teología ju-*
»*dáica;* un Compendio del libro del *Tér-*
»*mino de la Vida*, que escribió tambien
»el mismo más por extenso en lengua la-
»tina; el libro *Problemas sobre la Crea-*
»*cion;* los tres libros de la *Resurrec-*
»*cion de los muertos;* el de la *Fra-*
»*gilidad humana, y inclinacion del hom-*
»*bre á el pecado;* una obra ritual, en
»lengua portuguesa, con el título *The-*
»*souro dos Dininc*, y otras diversas
»obras, que él cita con esta generalidad,
»sin expresarlas.»

Pero si los lectores quisieren un catá-
logo más extenso de las obras de este
autor, que escribió, no sólo en hebreo,
sino en latin, portugues y español, le en-
contrarán en la obra que publicó con el

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título de *Piedra Gloriosa ó de la Estatua Nebuchadnesar*.

NOTA. El retrato que acompaña del Rabino portugues es copia, aunque reducida de tamaño, del que tiene el ejemplar que existe en la Biblioteca Nacional de esta corte, que, siguiendo las noticias del Sr. Rodriguez Castro en la pág. 562, hemos tenido el gusto de ver y hacer copiar por el artista Sr. D. M. Camaron, si bien, al reducirle de tamaño, ha sido preciso suprimir la leyenda que le sirve de orla, poniéndola en la parte inferior.

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מקוה ישראל

Esto es,

ESPERANÇA

DE ISRAEL.

Obra con suma curiosidad conpuesta

por

MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL

Theologo, y Philosopho Hebreo.

Trata del admirable esparzimiento de los diez Tribus, y su infalible reduccion con los de mas, a la patria: con muchos puntos, y Historias curiosas, y declaracion de varias Prophecias, por el Author rectamente interpretadas.

Dirigido a los señores Parnassim del K. K. de TALMVD TORA.

EN AMSTERDAM.

En la Imprension de
SEMVEL BEN ISRAEL SOEIRO.
Año. 5410.

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לבשר ענוים שלחני לחבש לנשברי לב

MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL

A los Muy Nobles, Prudentes, y Magnificos Señores, Deputados y Parnassim (c) *deste K. K.* (d) *de* TALMUD TORA. (e)

El Señor IOSSEPH DA COSTA,
El Señor ISHAK JESVRVN,
El Señor MICHAEL ESPINOSA,
El Señor ABRAHAM ENRIQUES FARO
El Señor GABRIEL DE RIVAS ALTAS,
El Señor JSHAK BELMONTE,
El Señor ABRAHAM FRANCO Gabay.

Muy Nobles, Pruaentes, y Magnıficos Señores,

DIvulgandose estos años passados aquella relacion de Aaron Levi, alias, Antonio de Montezinos, como la novedad, agrada, y el desseo sea grande de inquirir la verdad, no solamente por sus Epistolas me solicitaron

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ron los nuestros, diesse mi parecer sobre ella, mas avn de toda la Europa clarissimos señores en erudicion, y nobleza, a los quales por entonces satiffize brevemente. Más como de nuevo persona de gran calidad y letras de Jnglaterra, me obligasse a que sobre ello escriviesse mas largo, hize en lengua Latina este tratado, con algun cuydado, por ser en las materias que trato, difficultosas, y raras, sobre las quales ninguno exactamente ha escrito. En ellas muestro candida y modestamente nuestra opinion, como acostumbro en mis tratados, sin mover dudas, ni parecer que en algo hago oposicion a nadie. Por lo qual espero que sera generalmente acepto; y principalmente de Vs. Ms. a quien yo lo dedico y consagro, como a Governadores y Parnassim desta nuestra Nobilissima Kehila, Juzgando a benigna fortuna, aver escrito obra de tanta calidad y peso, en tiempo de personas de tanto Zelo, y Prudencia. Hele intitula-

do

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do מקוה ישראל ESPERANÇA DE ISRAEL deduziendo el nombre del c. 14. ver. 8. de Jeremias, *Esperança de Israel su salvador:* por que el fin a que solamente se dirige, es mostrar que esta esperança en que vivimos, de la venida del Messiah, es de vn bien, futuro, arduo, mas infalible, por fundarse en la promessa absoluta del Señor bendito.

Agora, pues, muy Prudentes, y Magnificos Señores, suplico a Vs. Ms. reciban con benigno semblante este pequeño servicio: estimandole quando falte la erudicion, a lo menos por el grandioso assumpto: ponderando con atencion, con quanto artificio y industria, en breve tratado, he tocado tantas cosas: por que con esto, yo quedare satisfecho, y animado para mayores emprezas, suplicando al Señor, guarde a Vs. Ms. muy largos años, con felicissimos sucessos, para que sean siempre amadores de la virtud, y de las buenas letras.

Amsterdam a 13 *de Sebat.* (g)
An. 5410.

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MENASSEH ben ISRAEL

AL

LECTOR.

Grande ha sido la variedad entre muchos y diversos escriptores, sobre la origen de los Americanos, ó primeros pobladores del nuevo orbe, e Indias Occidentales: por que siendo de fé, que todos quantos hombres y mugeres en el mundo uvo, y ay desde su exordio, traen su origen y proceden de aquellos solos dos principios de nuestros padres primeros, Adam y Haua; y por el consiguiente despues del diluvio, de Noah y sus hijos, pareciendoles, que este nuevo orbe es totalmente diuiso, y separado del viejo, y al mismo passo, lanse forçoso que los Indios se ayan passado alla, de una de las otras tres partes del mundo, Europa, Asia, y Africa, empeçaron a dudàr, que gentes fueron estos Indios? y de que parte salieron. Y como la claridad y conocimiento destas cosas, depende parte de alguna antigua historia, parte de conjecturas del ha-

bito

bito, lengua, y costumbres, y todo esso se obserua differente entre varias naciones de la America, quedó por esta via mas difficil el acierto. Y assi aun aquellos que con proprias experiencias diligentemente inuestigaron las cosas de aquel orbe, no pudieron en esto conformarse. Vnos dixeron, que procedian de los Cartaginenses; otros, de los Fenicios, ó Chenahaneos; otros, de los Indios, o Chinos; otros, de los Noroegios; otros de la Isla Atlantica; otros de los Tartaros; y aun otros de los diez Tribus: y todos ciertamente apoyan la opinion que siguen, no con demostracion alguna, mas con muy ligeras y flacas conjecturas, llenas de difficultades, como se podra ver en el progresso deste breue Tratado. Por lo qual auiendo yo examinado con suma curiosidad, todo aquello que hasta agora se tiene sobre esta materia escrito, no hallando cosa mas verissimil, ni mas consentanea a la razon, que la de nuestro Montezinos, la supongo como mas prouable: mostrando, que los primeros pobladores de la America, fueron parte de los diez Tribus; y que despues los de Tartaria (en que mas me afirmo) les siguieron, y hizieron guer-

ra;

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ra: Con que de nueuo se boluieron a ocultar detras de las cordilleras, por permission diuina. Muestro juntamente, que assi como los diez Tribus fueron expulsos de sus tierras, por diuersas vezes; assi estan por diuersas provincias dilatados; y que estas son la America, Tartaria, China, Media, rio Sabatico y Ethiopia. Pruevo que los diez tribus no bolvieron al segundo Templo, y que aun conseruan la Ley de Mosseh, y nuestros ritos sagrados. Y ultimamente infalible con los dos Iehudá y Binyamin, su reduccion a la patria, debaxo de una sola cabeça el Messiah ben David: y como se deue creer, que este felix siglo, está ya cercano, por diuersas consideraciones, en las quales toco muchas historias dignas de memoria, y de camino breuemente varias prophecias, con particular atencion y proposito. La excelencia desta escriptura, y quanto en este trabajo me deue mi nacion, dexo a la ponderacion de los pios y doctos, a los quales dirijo, mis escriptos.

Y por que tengo entre manos, la historia de nuestros varios y prodigiosos sucessos, desde el año en que dexó Ioscpho insigne

historia

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historiador la suya, suplico a todos los sabios y doctos de mi nacion derramados por todas las partes del mundo (a los quales en breue espero llegue este mi tratado) que teniendo algunas verdaderas y calificadas relaciones de algun sucesso digno de memoria, me lo aduiertan con tiempo: que aun que tengo recogido muchas y varias noticias de libros Hebreos, Arabigos, Griegos, Latinos, y aun de otras varias lenguas, como no hize la peregrinacion de Platon, me son sumamente necessarias algunas advertencias, afin de no quedar en algo defficiente. Todo lo qual dirijo al seruicio de mi nacion, y gloria del Dio Bendito, cuyo Reyno es sempiterno, y su palabra infalible.

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AUTHORES

y Libros Hebreos, que se alegan en la presente obra.

Talmud Ierusolomitano.
Talmud Babilonico.
Paraphrases Caldaica.
R. Simhon ben Iohay.
Seder holam.
Rabot.
Ialkot.
Tanhuma.
Ioseph ben Gurion.
R. Sehadia Gaon.
R. Moseh de Egipto.
R. Abraham Aben Ezra.
R. Selomoh Iarhi.
Eldad Danita.
R. David Kimhi.
R. Binyamin Tudelense.
R. Moseh Gerundense.
R. Leui ben guerson.
R. Abraham bar R. Hiya.
Don Ishak Abarbanel.
R. Ioseph Coen.
R. Abraham Frisol.
R. Mordechay Iaphe.
R. Mordechay reato.

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Authores de diversas naciones, que se citan en la presente obra.

A

Abraham Ortelio,
Agathias,
Augustino,
Alexo vanegas,
Alfonso Cemedro,
Alonso Augustiniano,
Alonso de Erzilla,
Alonso Venero,
Arias Montano.

B

Baronio.
Beroso,
Botero,
Bozio.

C

Costantino lemperur,

D

Diodoro siculo,
Dion,
Dureto.

E

Eselio gerardo,
Eusebio cesariense.

F

Famiano strada,
Francisco de Ribera,
Francisco lopes de Gomara.

G

Garcilasso de la Vega Inga,

Gene-

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Genebrardo,
Goropio,
Guillielmo postelo,
Guillielmo blawio,

H

Henrique Alangren,
Hugo Grotius.

I

Iaques vere,
Ioan de castillanos,
Ioan de Bairos,
Ioan Roman,
Ioan de Laet,
Ioan Huarte,
Ioseph de Acosta,
Iuan Hugues Lin-
schot.

L

Lescarbotus,
Lucano.

M

Manuel sa,
Marcilio ficino,
Marino.

N

Nicolaus Trigautio.

O

Origines,
Orosio,
Osorio Lusitano.

P

Pedro de Cieza,
Pedro Plancio,
Pedro Simon,
Pedro Hernandes
de Quiros,
Pedro Texeira,
Pineda,
Platon,
Plinio,
Pomario,

Proclo,

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Proclo,
Porphirio,
Posevino,
Plutarcho,
Pico Mirandulano.

S

Semuel bochardo,
Solinò,
Strabon,
Suetonio Tranquilo.

T

Tacito,
Tolomeo,
Thomas Malvenda.

X

Xenophonte.

Z

Zarate.

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RELACION

De

Aharon Levi, alias, Antonio de Montezinos.

En 18. de Ilul (h) del año 5404. vulgo, 644 llegó á esta ciudad de.Amsterdam Aron levi, y en otro tiempo en España, Antonio de Montezinos, y declaró delante de diversas personas de la nacion Portugueza la Relacion siguiente. Que avera dos años y medio, que saliendo del puerto de Honda, en las Indias Occidentales, para hazer su viage a la governacion de Papian, o provincia de Quito, alquiló unas mulas aun Indio mestiço, llamado Francisco del Castillo, en cuya compañia por arriero con otros Indios yva otro Indio, llamado tambien Francisco, al qual los demas Indios, llamavan Cazique, y con este al passar de la montaña, llamada Cordillera, un dia de mucha agua y viento, le sucedio, que cayendo muchas cargas, los Indios enfadados del trabajo del dia, empeçaron a decir

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mal de su fortuna, diziendo, que esso y mucho mas merecian por sus pecados: a lo que el dicho Indio Francisco, animandolos dixo, que tuviessen paciencia, que en breve tendrian algun dia de descanço: a esto respondieron, que no era justo le tubiessen, pues que trataron tan mal a una gente santa y la mejor del mundo, y que todos los tra bajos y inhumanidades que los Españoles vzavan con ellos, tenian bien merecidas por esta culpa. Llegando pues el dia de tomar puesto en la dicha montaña, la noche siguiente Montezinos sacó de una caxa de cuero algun bizcocho y dulces, y trayendolos a Francisco, dixo, toma esto, aun que digas mal de los Españoles: a lo que el Indio respondio, no se avia quejado dellos con mucha parte de lo que devia, por ser gente cruel, tirana, y de todo inhumana: pero que en breve se veria bien vengado dellos, por via de una gente oculta. Aviendo pues passado esto, llegando Montezinos a la ciudad de Cartagena en las Indias, fue preso por

la

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la Inquisicion, en la qual encomendandose un dia a Dios, dixo estas palabras, Bendito sea el nombre de Adonay, (i) que no me hizo idolatra, barbaro, negro, ni Indio, y al decir Indio, se retrató luego, diziendo, estos Indios son Hebreos: mas tornando en si, de nuevo bolvio a retratarse, diziendo, estoy loco, o fuera de juizio? como puede ser que estos Indios sean hebreos, lo que tambien le sucedio el segundo y tercero dia, haziendo la misma oracion, y dando en ella, las mismas gracias a Dios, la qual imaginacion, conciderando, que no podia ser a caso, recordandose juntamente de lo que avia passado con el sobre dicho Indio, se resolvio con juramento, de averigar la verdad desto, siendole possible, y que sacandole Dios de la prision, buscaria luego este Indio, para informarse de raiz, del sentido de las palabras que en la passada jornada, le avia dicho. Y assi luego que Dios por su misericordia le libró de la prission, se fue al dicho puerto de Honda, donde fue su ventura, que halló al mis-

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mo Indio Francisco, con el qual empeçando a hablar, le truxo a la memoria la historia de la montaña, y las palabras que en aquella ocasion le avia dicho: y el Indio respondio, que no estava olvidado dellas. Lo qual oydo por Montezinos le dixo, que el tenia en pensamiento de hazer con el un viage: a lo que respondio, que estava pronto para quando gustasse, con que Montezinos le dio 3. patacas (j) para comprar provision, empero el las empleó en alpargatas, y siguieron su camino, en el cual yendo platicando, se descubrió con el Indio, diziendole estas palabras. Yo soy Hebreo del tribo de Levi, mĩ Dio es, Adonay, y todo lo demas es engaño. A cuyas palabras el Indio alterado, le preguntó, como se llaman tus padres? respondio, que se llamavan Abraham, Ishac, y Iahacob. Replicó el Indio, no tienes otro padre? respondio que si, y que se llamaba Luis de Montezinos. El Indio no satisfecho con esto, le bolvio de nuevo a dezir, por algunas cosas que me as dicho, me as

causado

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causado contento, y por otra parte, estoy para no darte credito, por quanto no me sabes dezir, quien fueron tus padres: mas Montezinos, bolvió a responder con juramiento, que le dezia la verdad, y gastando algun tiempo en demandas y respuestas, ya enfadado el Indio, le dixo, no eres hijo de Israel? a lo que respondió, que si: el Indio algo alterado dixo entonces, pues dilo ya, que me tenias confuzo y muerto, mas descancemos un poco, y bebamos, que luego hablaremos: con que al cabo de un rato, le dixo el Indio, si eres hombre de animo, valor, y esfuerço, que te atrevas a yr comigo, sabras lo que dezeas saber; pero adviertote, que as de yr a pie, as de comer mais tostado, y as de hazer en todo y por todo lo que yo te dixere. A cuyas palabras, respondio Montezinos, que el estava resuelto a seguir todo lo que le hordenasse.

El dia siguiente, un Lunes, vino a su aposento el Indio diziendole, quita todo quanto tienes en las faltriqueras,

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calçate estos alpargates, toma este palo y sigueme. Assi lo hizo, y dexando la capa y espada y todo lo demas que consigo llevava, fueron continuando, llevando el Indio a cuestas delante de si 3. Almudes (k) de Mais tostado, dos cuerdas, la una dellas de nudos con un gancho de dos garavatos, para subir por las peñas, y la otra delgada, para atar en las Balsas y passajes de rios, y un machete y alpargates. En esta forma pues caminaron toda aquella semana hasta el Sabado, en el qual reposaron, y bolvieron a caminar el domingo y lunes, y Martes a las.8.de la mañana, llegando a un rio mayor que el Duero, le dixo el Indio, aqui as de ver a tus hermanos, y haziendo vandera de dos paños de algodon que llevaban ceñidos al cuerpo, hizo vna señal, de allí un rato vieron grande humo, y el Indio dixo, ya saben que aqui estamos, y al momento en respuesta, hizieron la misma señal, levantando otra bandera, y luego. 3.hombres con una muger se partieron en una Canoa, y se vinieron don-

de

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de ellos estavan: la muger salio en tierra, y los hombres se quedaron en la Canoa, y esta despues de largos coloquios que tubo con Francisco, que Montezinos no pudo entender, relató lo que passaba á los 3. hombres que estavan aun en la Canoa, los quales aviendo estado hasta entonces, mirandole con gran atencion, saltaron della fuera, y le abraçaron, y lo mismo hizo la muger, y esto echo, vno dellos se bolvio a la Canoa, y los dos con la muger quedaron. Llegandosse pues estos dos hombres para el Indio Francisco, del se arrojo a sus pies, pero ellos le levantaron con muestras de humanidad y aficion, y puestos a hablar con el, de alli a un rato le dixo Francisco, no te asonbres, ni perturbes, ni imagines que estos hombres, te an de dezir segunda cosa hasta que ayas bien apercebido la primera, y luego los dos le metieron a Montezinos entre si, y dixeron el verso del Deut. cap. 6.4. SEMAH ISRAEL .A. EL OHENV.A.EHAD oye Israel.A.nuestro Dio, .A. vno. y despues

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In formandose primero en cada cosa del interprete Francisco, aprendiendo del como se dezia aquello en lengua Española, y en ella, misma, ellos mismos le dixeron lo siguiente, intremetiendo algun tiempo entre una razon á otra.

Primera, Mi padre, es Abraham, Ishak Iahacob, Israel, y señalando 3. dedos nombravan estos quatro: y luego acrecentaron, Reuben, y señalaron 4. dedos.

Segunda. Los que quisieren venir a vivir con nos otros, les daremos tierras.

Tercera. Ioseph, vive en medio de la mar, haziendo señal con dos dedos cerrados, y despues, abriendolos, dixeron, en dos partes.

Quarta. Luego con brevedad (diziendo muy de prissa) saldremos unos pocos a ver y a pizar, y a este tiempo señalaron con los ojos, y patearon con los pies.

Quinta. un dia hablaremos todos, haziendo en este tiempo con la boca, ba, ba, ba, y saldremos como que nos

pario

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pario la tierra.

Sexta. Ira mensagero.

Septima. Francisco dira mas vn poquito, señalando con el dedo, cosa poca.

Octava. Danos lugar para que nos apercebamos, y moviendo la mano a una y otra parte, dezian con la boca y con la mano, no te detengas mucho.

Novena. Embia .12. hombres de todos señalando barbas, que escrivan.

Acabando estos puntos en los quales se empleó aquel dia, al Miercoles y Iueves bolvieron a repetirle lo mismo, sin ser possible poder sacarles otra cosa: por lo qual enfadado Montezinos de que no le respondian a lo que les preguntava, ni consedian passar de la otra parte, se llego dissimuladamente a la Canoa para en ella passarse de la otra parte, pero ellos la retiraron con un palo, y cayendo en el agua, se fue a pique, por no saber nadar: lo que visto por ellos, supitamente se arrojaron al rio, y le sacaron, y mostrándose airados, le dixeron, tu no piensses que por

fuerça o locura as de salir con lo que intentas: cuyas palabras declaró el Indio, mostrandolas ellos, por señas y palabras.

Es de advertir, que la Canoa, nunca en estos 3. dias estuvo parada, mas ivan quatro hombres y bolvian, otros quatro, y siempre le hablavan por una misma boca, las nueve cosas que avemos referido, siendo todos los hombres que en estos dias concurrieron a verle, cosa de 300: poco mas a menos.

Es esta gente algo tostada del sol, el cabello en algunos les llegava hasta las rodillas, otros le trahian mas corto, otros como se trahe cumunmente en general cortado por parejo, buenos talles, buenas caras, buen pie, y pierna: en las cabeças un paño al derredor.

Declaró mas Montezinos, como saliendo deste lugar, Iueves a la tarde, con gran cantidad de bastimentos, y regalos que ellos le truxeron, se despidio dellos, aviendole en aquellos .3. dias que alli estuvo, mostrado, como gozavan de todas las cosas que los Españoles ti-

enen

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enen en las Indias, assi de comer, como de vestir, gado, (l) semillas y todo lo demas.

Dicho Iueves, despues de haber llegado a parte donde se aloxaron aquella noche, dixo Montezinos al Indio Francisco, aduierdtote que me, dixeron mis hermanos, que tu me dirias mas un poquito, por lo qual te pido, me digas agora algo de lo que tanto dezeo saber. El Indio Francisco respondio, yo te dire lo que supiere sin que me apures y te referire la verdad como la supe por tradicion de mis padres, y si me apuras que lo temo, segun te veo especulativo, as me de obligar a que te diga mentiras: y assi pues yo de tan buena gana te digo la verdad, no me apures por amor de Dios, y ten cuenta. Tus hermanos los hijos de Israel, los truxo Dios a esta tierra, haziendo con ellos grandes maravillas, muchos asombros, cosas que si te las digo, no las as de crer, y esto me lo dixeron assi mis padres. Venimos los Indios a esta tierra, hezimos les guerra, tratamoslos peor, de lo

que

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que los Españoles nos tratan Despues por mandado de nuestros Mohanes (m) (hechizeros) entravamos hasta aquella parte adonde vimos á tus hermanos, tropas de soldados a hazerles guerra, y de quantos entravan, ninguno salia bivo: hizieron grande exercito entraron alla dentro, y todos ellos murieron, y finalmente la ultima y postrera vez, despoblaron toda la tierra, para ir a esta guerra, dexando solo mugeres, viejos, y niños, y de todos ellos, no quedó uno bivo: lo qual visto por los que quedaron, dixeron, que sus Mohanes les avian engañado, y que por respeto de sus consejos, avia perecido vna tan gran multitud de gente: por lo cual era justo que ellos pereciessen con los de mas, y matando gran cantidad dellos, quedando solos vnos pocos, pidieron, les diessen algun tiempo de vida para dezengañarles, y dezirles en todo la verdad que sabian, y concediendoseles, declararon lo siguiente.

El Dios destos hijos de Israel, es el verdadero Dios, todo lo que está escrito

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crito en sus piedras, es verdad; al cabo de los tiempos, ellos seran señores de todas las gentes del mundo, vendrá a esta tierra gente que os trayga muchas cosas, y despues de estar toda la tierra abastecida, estos hijos de Israel saldran de donde estan, y se enseñorearan de toda la tierra, como era suya de antes. Algunos de vos otros que quizierdes ser venturosos, pegaos a ellos.

Aviendo el Indio Francisco acabado de relatar este pronostico de los Mohanes, prosiguio diziendo, Mis padres fueron Caziques y otros cuatro, entre todos cinco, estos sabiendo destos pronosticos que los Mohanes hablavan por boca de Hebreos sabios, que quanto dezian sucedia, se vinieron a morar cerca destas partes, por ver si podrian tener entrada para hablar con tus hermanos y andando muchos dias la vinieron a alcançar, por muchos ruegos y persuaciones, por que tus hermanos nunca quisieron hablar á mis padres, ni se consentia que los unos hablassen con los otros: por que el que

entraba

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entrava de los Indios en aquella tierra, moria, y de tus hermanos ninguno passava á estas partes. Hizose el concierto por medio desta muger la qual hazia lo que le mandaban tus hermanos, con estas condiciones. Que cinco hombres hijos de los Casique, o sus herederos, vendrian cada 70. lunas, á verlos. Que no vendrian mas otros hombres, y que el hombre al qual se declarase este secreto, tendria de edad 300. lunas, y nada desto se le podria revelar en poblado, sino en el campo, y que cuando se reuelasse, avian de estar los Casique juntos.

Desta manera prosiguio el Indio conservamos entre nos aquel secreto por el gran premio que esperamos tener por los grandes servicios que avemos hecho a tus hermanos: nos otros no podemos hir allá, sinó es de 70. á 70 lunas no aviendo alguna novedad: no la ha avido em mis tiempos, sino esta que ellos estavan dezeando, y aguardando. Por mi cuenta, no uvo mas de 3. novedades, la primera, la venida de los Es-

pañoles

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pañoles a estos reynos, la segunda, la venida de navios en la mar del Sur; la terçera, tu venida: todas tres las an festejado mucho, porque dizen se cumplen prophecias.

Dixo mas Montezinos, que despues de aver buelto a Honda, le truxo Francisco 3. hombres Indios, hombres mançebos cuyos nombres le encubrieron, y le dixo, bien puedes hablar con estos, que son mis compañeros, de que tantas vezes te he hablado: el otro, que es el quinto, es viejo, y no ha podido venir. Los tres Indios llegaron a abraçarlo preguntando, quien eres? a que Montezinos respondio, ser vn Hebreo del Tribo de Levi, que. A. era su Dio con otras cosas mas, que oydo por ellos juntos de nuevo le abraçaron, diziendo, algun dia nos veras, y no nos conoceras: todos somos hermanos, merced es que Dios nos hizo. Desta tierra no te dé cuydado, que todos los Indios tenemos a nuestro mandado, en acabando con estos Españoles iremos a sacarvos a vos otros del captiverio en

que

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que estays, si quisiere Dios que
si quererá, que su palabra,
no puede faltar.

FINIS

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Libro Intitulado

ESPERANÇA DE ISRAEL.

Entre tantas, y tan diversas opiniones, y todas tan contingentes, difficil es el acierto. Obligame V.S. que dé mi parecer, sobre aquella Relacion de Antonio de Montezinos, y como esto depende del saber la orígen de los Indios del nuevo mundo, y este conocimiento, no se puede alcansar por ciencia; por que no ay demostracion que en nuestro entendimiento engendre esta noticia, ni por fé divina, ni humana se comprende, pues la Sagrada Scriptura, no declara que gentes fueron habitar aquellas partes, y antes que las descubriese Christoval Colon, Americo Vespusio, Don Fernando Cortes, Marques del valle, y Don Francisco Pizarro, no uvo quien hiziesse mension dellas, se sigue ser necessario discurrir por opinion. Por lo qual aviendo yo hasta agora empleado mi pluma en materias tan solidas, y infalibles como son todas las de nuestra divina Ley, estuve algun tiempo dudoso sobre es-

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ta empreza, pero al fin me rezolvi a emprenderla, mas por dar gusto a V.S. y a los demas amigos de inquirir la verdad, que por ganar reputacion y gloria.

II En este discurso, tocaré brevemente las varias sentencias que desto ha avido, mostraré las regiones que pueden habitar los diez tribos, y concluire con la infalible reducion dellos a la patria, qûe es aquello que solamente trataré con infalibilidad, por fundarse, no en opinion, mas en la revelacion de los santos Prophetas, los quales juzgo que no pueden de otra suerte interpretarse, avn que otros lo sienten differente. Pero ni tan poco esto vintilaré en forma de disputa, mas solamente refirire como acostumbro en mis escriptos, candidamente nuestra opinion Iudaica.

III Es pues de saber, que Alexo Vanegas (lib. 2. cap. 2.) affirma, que los Indios primeros pobladores de las Indias Occidentales, proceden de los Cartaginenses, los quales primeramente

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te poblaron la isla Española, y despues multiplicando, cundieron hasta la Isla de Cuba, y de alli hasta la tierra firme de America, y de alli hasta nombre de Dios, Panamá, Nueva España, y Piru, Fundasse este author, en que los Cartaginenses uzavan de pinturas em lugar de letras, y que lo mismo vsavan los Indios del Pirú, y nueva España, y en que los Cartaginenses, fueron los que mas navegaron por el mar Occeano. Pero esta opinion tiene poco fundamento: por que los Cartaginenses eran hombres blancos, con barbas, y politicos, todo lo qual falta en los Indios: pues vemos que en Panama, x. (n) Marta, Isla de Cuba, y las demas de Barlovento, andavan antiguamente desnudos: y no se dá, que se perdiesse de todo vna lengua, y se inventasse otra: y esta de los Indios no imita en algo la de los Cartaginenses.

IV. De otra opinion fue Arias Montano (*lib. 7. phalug. Cap. 9.*) el qual dize, que la gente que ay en la nueva España, y Piru, proceden de Ophir hijo de

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Ioktan, nieto de Heber. Funda su opinion en el nombre אופיר Ophir que transpuestas las letras al reves, es lo mismo que Pirú. Que פרוים nombre dual, significa las dos regiones distintas, con vn estrecho de tierra angosto, pero largo, que ay entre ellas, las qualles son nueva España, y Pirú, que antiguamente ambas se llamaron Ophir, y despues Pirú: y que estas tierras, son el Ophir de donde le venian al Rey Selomoh (segun consta del 1. de los Reys, cap. 9 y 10. y del segundo del Paralip. 8. y.9) oro, piedras preciosas y otras cosas, de que ellas son abundantes. Pero aun que esta sentencia parece mas verisimil, y se puede aun corroborar, con el nombre de vn rio Pirú, que segun Gomara (1. p. hist. fol. 9.y.62.) está en dos grados de la Equinocial, y 220. leguas de Panamá, y con la provincia Iucatan, que se puede deduzir, de יקטן IoKtan padre de Ophir, con todo a mi parecer todo esto es de poco fundamento: porque la significacion del vocablo Pirú, difiere mucho de Ophir, y no es de crer,

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que Selemoh, dexada la India oriental riquissima, embiasse sus flotas a la occidental tan remota. Mayormente que en el li. .1. de los Rey. *c.*9 se dize, que el Rey Selomoh hizo los navios en Hesyon gaber cerca de la orilla del mar Roxo, y lo mismo refiere Ezras en el *c.*20. del segundo del Paralipomenon que hizo Ieosaphat con Ahaziahu: y es cosa cierta, que el camino ordinario de aquellas regiones para la India oriental, es este. Y no es dificuldad, dezir la Sagrada Scriptura en vna parte, que yvan a Tarsis, y en otra a Ophir, donde parece que todo es vna misma cosa: por que Tarsis, no es como algunos piensan, Cartago, o Tunes en Aphrica: por que la flota de Selomoh, y de Hiram no partia de Iapho, puerto del mar Mediterraneo, mas de Heyson gaber, puerto del mar Bermejo, de donde no se podia navegar a Aphrica sino a la India. Ni se deve por ningun modo admetir la salida que a esto dá don Ishak Abarbanel, diziendo, que un braço del Nilo entra en el mar Berme-

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jo, y otro passa por Egipto en Alexandria, y entra en el mar Mediterraneo: por que no se ha oydo hasta agora, que estos Rios sean capaces de grandes embarcaciones, y para esto, fuera mejor que hiziesse los navios en el puerto de la misma Alexandria. Por todo lo cual es mas verissimil, que *Tarsis*, sea el Oceano e inmenso mar, que es el Indico. Y por que saliendo del mar Roxo angosto, navegavan luego por este ancho, se dize, que yvan a Tarsis. Deste mismo parecer, es el divino Ionatan Ben Vziel, y ansi se vera, que en su paraphrases de ordinario, por Tarsis, pone ימא que es el Oceano. Siente lo mismo R. Ioseph Coen en su chronologia, donde da al mar Indico, este nombre: y de la misma opinion, es Francisco de Ribera en el comentario que hizo sobre Ionas. Y segun esto, Ophir, es la que en el tiempo antigo, se llamava Aurea chersoneso, la que Ioseph (*lib*.8. *Antig*. *Cap*.6,) llama terra aurea, y agora llaman, Malaca: donde le podian a Selomoh traer el marfil, por los elephantes que alli ay,

qu

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que en las Indias Occidentales no se hallan, y consecutivamente por aquellos puertos, estar contratando tanto tiempo, que en la yda y buelta, gastassen el espacio de tres años.

V Refutadas pues las precedentes opiniones es de saber, que los Españoles que habitan en dichas Indias, sienten generalmente que los Indios proceden de los 10 tribos, pero erran manifiestamente: por que avn que estos a mi ver, fueron los primeros pobladores, despues, a caso como sucedio a los Españoles, vinieron nuevas gentes de la India oriental, donde es facil la navegacion a la tierra de nueva España, passando a quel estrecho de mar que ay entre la misma India, y el reyno de Anian, que ya es tierra firme, de nueva España: y de aqui fueron poblando las mas tierras hasta el fin del Pirú. Estos pues prevaleciendo en fuerças, les hizieron guerra, con que les fue necessario (como dize nuestro Montezinos,) retirarse a lo mas interior, y oculto de aquellas regiones, por permission di-

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vina : para que se cumpliesse la Prophecia de Moseh, *hare cessar de los hombres su memoria.*

§ II

VI. El ſundamento primero desta opinion procede del lib.4.de Esdras, el qual aun que sea Apochryfo, citamos como author antiguo. Dize pues en el *c.* 13. que los dies Tribus, que Salmanassar llevó captivos en tiempo del Rey Oseas, trasladados para la otra parte del rio Euphrates, acordaron entre si de passarse a otra region remota, donde nunca habitó el genero humano, para guardar alli mejor su ley. Y assi entrando por unos passos estrechos del Euphrates, el Altissimo Señor vsó con ellos maravillas, deteniendo la corriente del rio hasta que passassen, cuya region, se llama Arsareth: De cuyo texto se puede colegir, que parte dellos se fueron a nueva España y al Pirú, poblando estos dos Reynos que hasta entonces avian sido inhabitables. Genebrardo (*lib. 1. Chron. pag.* 150) despues de aver referido el viage de los dies Tribos, que Esdras

cuenta

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cuenta, dize que Arsareth, es la Tartaria Mayor, y que de aqui fueron hazia la Isla de Gronlandia: por que de a quella parte está la America descubierta y sin mar, y de las otras ceñida del mar, y hecha quasi Isla: y de Gronlandia, por el estrecho de Davis, se podian passar a tierra del Labrador, que es ya tierra de Indias, que dista solamente 50. leguas, como testifica Françisco lopes de Gomara en su historia 1.p.fol.7.

VII Esta transmigracion de los dies tribos a las Indias, se confirma mejor con lo que dize el P. Malvenda, (*lib.* 3.*de Anti.cap.*18.) que Arsareth es aquel Promontorio, Cabo, o cumbre de la extremidad de Scythia, o Tartaria, acostado sobre el mar, llamado de Plinio (*lib.*6. *cap.*17.) Tabin, del qual es dividida la America, por el estrecho de Anian, que por aquella parte divide la China, o Tartaria de la America, por el qual pudieron los dies tribos passar con mucha mas facilidad de Arsareth, o Tartaria, en el reyno de Anian y Quivira, y con el tiempo hir poblando el

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nuevo orbe, y tierra firme; la qual es quasi tanta tierra, como la de Asya, Europa y Africa. Donde Alonso Augustiniano cuenta por la costa del mar del Norte, començando desde la tierra del Labrador, 3928.leguas, y por la del Sur 3000: y Gomara, 9300. de tierra de Indias, por la costa del Norte y Sur : distancia bastante para poder estenderse en lo que está incognito, y por descubrir immensidad de gente.

VIII Tiene este parecer, otro fundamento no pequeño, y es, que en la Isla de x. Miguel, vna de los Azores, que pertenece al nuevo mundo (segun refiere Genebrardo, *lib.* 1. *Cron. Pag.* 159) hallaron los Españoles un sepulcro de baxo de la tierra con estas letras Hebreas מה טם אל שעל בין מתדעאל en las quales mudada solamente la ט, y en su lugar poniendo la letra ת, puede dezir מה תם אל quan perfecto es Dios, Sehalbin es muerto., conoce a Dios. Pero a mi ver, las letras fueron mal copiadas, o estavan ya gastadas con el tiempo, y en este Epitaphio, solamente se señala el

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nombre del defunto, y de su padre, como aun oy es costumbre, y puede dezir מהטבאל שעל בן מתדעאל *Mehetabel Sual, hijo de Matadhel*, mudada la ם en ב, y esto es mas verissimil: por que entre los Hebreos, muchos nombres acaban en esta particula, El, como Himanuel, Suriel, Refael, &c. Pero como quiera que esto sea, basta para nuestro intento mostrar, que en aquellas partes se hallaron estos Caracteres Hebreos. Y aun que esta Isla queda distante del nuevo mundo, pudieron por caso fortuito aportar á ella.

IX Fauorece juntamente esta opinion, ver tan semejantes las leyes de los Israelitas, y las de los Indios: por que comparando algunas de los indios con las de los Israelitas, hallaremos, se parecen en muchas cosas, de donde inferiremos facilmente, que los indios las tomaron del tiempo que habitaron entre ellos, o de algunos que quedaron despues de ocultos en las montañas Los indios pues de Iucatan y Acuzamil, se circuncidavan. Los Totones y

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los Mexicanos hazian lo mismo, como testifica Roman y Gomara en la historia general de las Indias. Rompen sus vestidos, como los Hebreos, por alguna infausta nueva, ó muerte; por lo cual refiere Gregorio Garcia en la Monarchia de los Ingas del Pirú, que sabiendo Guainacapac, que su hijo Atagualpa, venia huyendo del campo enemigo, rompió los vestidos. De los Mexicanos y Totones se escribe, que guardaban eternamente fuego en sus altares, segun lo que Dios manda en el Levitico, y lo mismo hazian los Peruanos en los Templos del Sol. Los de la Provincia de Nicaragua prohibian la entrada de sus Templos, a las mugeres rezien paridas, hasta que se purificassen. Los de la Isla Española tenian por pecado, tener ayuntamiento con la muger parida: y los de la nueva España, castigavan gravemente el pecado nefando. Pero lo que mas admira, es el Iubileo solemne entre los Indios de la Nueva España de 50.en 50.años que se celebrava en Mexico con gran solem-

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nidad, como Metropolis de toda la Provincia. El Sabado era tambien dia festivo entre ellos, en el qual eran obligados todos de assistir en los Templos a las cerimonias y sacrificios, que hazian a los Dioses. Davan tambien divorcio a las mugeres que hallavan comprehendidas en algun acto deshonesto. Los Peruanos casavan con sus cuñadas mugeres de sus hermanos defunctos, y lo mismo hazian los de Nueva España y Guatimala. Tenian tambien los Indios, notica de la criacion del mundo, y general diluvio. Todo lo qual es indicio, de que en algun tiempo, habitaron Israelitas en aquellas comarcas, de quien los Indios aprendieron todas estas cosas. Con que se corrobora mas esta opinion.

X. El quarto fundamento desta sentencia, es ver, que siendo los Indios, baços, y desbarbados, en el nuevo mundo se an visto pueblos blancos, con barbas, que nunca tuvieron comercio con los Españoles, de cuya differencia, se infieere, son otra gente, y provablemente

Israelitas

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Israelitas: pues vemos tambien que nunca prudieron ser conquistados, ni seran perfectamente descubiertos hasta el fin de los dias, por permisson divina. Consta esto de differentes historias.

El padre fray Pedro Simon Franciscano en su historia, del descubrimiento de la tierra firme, cuenta, Que vn Phelipe de Vtré pariente del Emperador Carlos quinto, descubrió de la parte de la America Septentrional a 5 grados, en la Provincia de Omeguas, vezina de la de Venezuela, que es oy la de Caracas, vnas tierras incognitas, guiado de unos Indios circunuezinos, que le dixeron ser muy pobladas y ricas, y que la gente dellas era belicosa y guerrera, con cuya informacion se delibró á explorarlas, y descubriendolas topó primeramente con una ciudad populosa de grandes edifficios, y junto della estavan dos labradores cultivando la tierra, los quales quiso coger para informarse de todo, pero ellos se retiraron de prissa para la ciudad, mas como el y sus compañeros a cavallo

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vallo, los apertassen demasiado, se bol vieron contra ellos, y tirandoles una lansa hirieron al Vtré, passandole una arma deffensiva de algodon, que usan para las flechas. Por lo qual admirados del valor y atrevimiento destos hombres, dexaron la empresa, y se retiraron. Desta gente no se supo mas nada, ni los Españoles han podido dar con ellos: por donde es verisimil, sean Israelitas, que Dios tiene encubiertos en aquellas partes, hasta el tiempo de la redencion futura.

XI Don Alonso de Erzilla lo entiende assi en su Araucana 2. parte canto 27. donde describiendo aquellas partes, dize esta octava.

Ves las manchas de tierra tan cubiertas,
Que pueden ser a peuas divisadas,
Son las que nunca han sido descubiertas,
Ni de estrangeros pies jamas pisadas,
Las quales estaran siempre encubiertas,
Y de aquellas celages occupadas
Hasta que Dios permita que parezcan,
Por que mas sus secretos se engrandezcan.

Juan

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§ III.

XII. Iuan de Castillanos, vicario de Pamplona en el Nuevo Reyno de Granada, escribe tambien en un libro que compuso en octavas, que en el tiempo que Gonçalo Pisarro se levantó con el Pirú; mando, descubrir nuevas tierras de Indias a la parte del Este, que hasta el dia de oy, no se ha descubierto para este paraje, la multitud de indios naturales, que por alli ay: pero conforme lo que se ha visto, son mas de dos mil leguas de longitud,. que es donde empieça el rio Marañon, que comiença, en los Andes que llaman del Cusco, hasta precipitarse en el mar del Norte. En el principio pues deste rio, entró Pedro de Orsua General de las tropas que ivan con el a descubrir essas tierras montuosas, y llenas de altissimos cedros, el qual llevando su gente en canoas, pareciendole vasos muy pequeños, por el rio ser muy caudaloso, determinó hazer unos Berganti-

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nes que hizo a la orilla de un rio llamado Guariaga, que se abraça con el Marañon, y baxa de la Prouincia de Chachapoyas. Aviendo pues embarcado en ellos su gente, un soldado valiente que llevava consigo el dicho Pedro de Orsua, llamado Aguirre, le mató, y siendo elegido por General de los demas soldados, fue navegando el rio abaxo, y llegó a una tierra raza, sin montaña ninguna, sino prados de una parte y otra, donde avia muchas caserias a la misma margen del Marañon, tanto a la izquierda, como a la derecha pobladas de gente, y aviendo navegado dos dias y dos noches el rio abaxo, continuando la dicha poblacion de casas altas y blancas, no se atrevieron a echar gente en tierra, por la multitud que auia de casas, y por oyr martillar, cuyo sonido parecia de plateros. Fue prosiguiendo su viage, y salió al mar del Norte, y se arrimó a aquella costa de la Margarita, donde la justicia de aquella Provincia, teniendo noticia de lo que avia hecho, lo prendieron y a-

horcaron.

XIII Gaspar de Bergara hombre fidedigno y conocido mio, me contó assi mismo, como de la ciudad de Loxa se partió a la Provincia de Quito, en el Reyno del Pirú, con el general Don Diego Vaca de veiga, que iva a descubrir tambien tierras nuevas. El año de 1622. entraron en la Provincia de Yarguasongo, que descubrió el General Salinas, atravessaron las Cordilleras, donde el rio Marañon no tiene mas que un tiro de piedra de una parte á otra: llegaron a la Provincia de los Indios Maynas, y fundaron alli una ciudad, que se llamó Francisco de Borja y Esquilache. Yvan en esta compañia cosa de cien Españoles en sus Canoas, y despues de aver domesticado y reduzido aquellos Indios Maynas al servicio del Rey de España, determinó el General, (dexando alguna guarnicion de soldados en aquella ciudad, que nuevamente poblaron) a que fuessen descubrir nuevas tierras, por noticias que dellas auian dado algunos Indios. Fue-

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eron navegando el rio abaxo cosa de 500. leguas, donde descubrieron algunas choças de Indios de poca consideracion: por que como ay tantos rios que entran en este Marañon, habitan junto dellos, por estar alli guardados del curso deste rio. Llegaron finalmente al rio Guariaga, donde Pedro de Orsua hizo los Bergantines, y fue muerto el Aguirre, y se informaron de algunos Indios Guariagas, que alli cogieron, los quales toman el nombre deste rio, que gente avia por el rio abaxo, y que noticia tenian della, a que respondieron, que de alli a 4. o 5. jornadas por el rio abaxo avia una gente blanca, alta de cuerpo y bien fornida, con barbas crecidas como los Españoles, muy valientes, y que los tales no sabian navegar en Canoas, siendo assi que todos los Indios de aquellas parages, no andan sino en ellas. Lo qual aviendo oydo el General, determinó boluerse por el mismo camino, por donde avia venido.

XIV En Pernabuco ha poco mas

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de 40. años sucedio tambien, que ocho Tabajares, se determinaron a descubrir la tierra adentro, y ver si de la otra parte incognita, avia tierras pobladas, y caminando derechamente al Poniente, despues de quatro meses de camino, llegaron a vnas cerranias altissimas, a cuya cumbre subiendo con gran difficultad, baxaron despues avn llano regado de un ameno rio, a cuyas margines vieron y hablaron con vna gente blanca, con barbas, de comercio y policia: cuyas nuevas a cabo de nueve meses, truxeron a Pernambuco, cinco de los dichos Tabajares, aviendose muerto dellos tres en el camino.

§ IV

XV En nuestros tiempos reynando Phelipe tercero, el Capitan Pedro Hernandez de Quiros (como refiere en una Epistola el muy noble y docto Señor Iahacob Rosales,) passó a Roma viniendo de las Indias, do estuvo quasi toda su vida, y alli mostró el Mapa de

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las nuevas tierras que intentava descubrir. Vino despues a Madrid, de donde fue remitido al Gobernador de Panama, para que le diesse cinco naves y con ellas proseguir su intento. Con ellas passó el mar del Sur, y descubrió algunas islas, llamandolas, Islas de Selomoh y Ierusalem, por ciertos motivos que para ello tuvo: y costeando por algunas, vió que unos Isleños eran baços, de que tomó algunos para lengua: y otros que habitavan en Islas mayores y mas fertiles, eran blancos y rubios, con ropas largas de seda, y mandando ancorar una nave para echar gente en tierra, acudió luego una immensa cantidad de aquella gente, pero el navio dió en un escollo, y se fue apique, con que le fue fuerça ir adelante a buscar tierra firme, la qual hallo de 40. grados para arriba, y fue costeando costa a costa mas de 300 leguas, al cabo de las quales sintiendo humo, entendió auria no muy lexos poblacion. Llegando finalmente a un rio, quiso entrar en el para saltar en tierra, pero acudió

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otra multitud de gente blanca, rubia, agigantada, y ricamente vestida, con tunicas y barbas largas : el navio a la entrada fue tambien a pique por aver dado contra una peña, con que se hizo al mar, y los de tierra le embiaron dos xalofos, baços, como los de la Isla primera, con carneros, frutas, y refresco, señalandoles que se fuessen, y amenazandoles, si saltassen en tierra. El Capitan recogió los xalofos, y los truxo a España, de los quales nunca pudieron entender cosa alguna, mas que por señas apuntando las barbas, como si hablassen con aquellas amos sus señores de barbas largas : y tratando en cosas de religion, con señas para el cielo, haziendo lo mismo, apuntavan con un dedo, y encorvando todo el cuerpo davan a entender, que aquella gente, adorava a un solo Dios, y en breve tiempo murieron en España. El Capitan bolvió a Panamá con los dichos dos navios menos, donde aviendo algunos disgustos con el Governador, escrivió a los del Consejo de Indias, y bolvió a

España

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España con sus navios, donde estuvo dos años sin ser despachado, hasta que su pariente, llamado Andre Bocarro, hizo tanto con los del Consejo, que lo fue. El Rey lo hizo Marquez de las tierras y Islas que descubriesse, y mandó le diessen una gruessa armada para hazer la empresa: pero llegado a Panamá, murió luego, no sin sospecha de veneno.

XVI La narracion siguiente puede servir assi mismo de comprobacion para lo que avemos dicho, tocante las Indias Occidentales. Vn piloto de nacion flamenco, que se halló aura pocos años con vn navio suyo en la America, en circa de 7. grados de altura de la parte Septentrional, entre el Marañon y el Gran Pará, tomó puerto en un rio muy caudaloso, donde halló algunos Indios, que hablauan Español, con los quales hizo su rescate de mantenimientos, y cierto palo de tintas, y aviendo alli estado cosa de 6. meses, su po dellos, que de la parte de los Indios Carybes, se dilatava aquel rio por

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espacio de 18. leguas, hasta donde podia llegar su navio, y alli se dividia en 3. braços, y navegando por el siniestro camino de dos dias, se topava con una gente blanca, con barbas, y ropas largas, llenas de grandes riquezas, y abundante en oro, plata, y esmeraldas, que habitava en ciudades muradas y populosas, donde algunos Indios del Oronoque, avian ido, y traydo mucho oro, plata y esmeraldas. El piloto aviendo oydo estas informaciones, deliberó de embiar allá algunos de sus marineros, los quales quedaron en el medio del camino, por averseles muerto el Indio que llevavan por guia. Alli hizieron su rescate con los Indios del pays por espacio de dos meses, 60. millas por la tierra adentro. La provincia se llama Isbia, cuyo puerto es oy de los Zelandeses: la gente della nunca tuvo comercio ni trafago con Españoles, y puedese caminar con seguridad por la tierra adentro. Esto nos relató a caso este piloto flamenco, sin saber que en esto dezia negoceo de importancia.

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Por lo qual conjecturando algunos de los nuestros que podian ser Israelitas, se determinaron embiarlo a este descubrimiento; pero el año passado, despues desto murio en breues dias, con que parece, que no permite Dios, que jamas tengan effecto estos descubrimientos, hasta el fin de los dias.

XVII Sobre todo a lo que doy mas credito, es, la relacion de nuestro Montezinos, Portugues de nacion, Iudio de religion, nacido en una ciudad de Portugal llamada Villaflor, de padres conocidos y honrados, de edad de 40. años, hombre de bien, y fuera de toda ambicion. Navegó a las Indias, y alla fue preso por la Inquisicion, como sucede a otros muchos nacidos en Portugal, descendientes de los que el Rey D. Manuel hizo Christianos por fuerça: ó hecho, dize Osorio (de Rebus Himanuelis) iniquo y injusto; y mas abaxo, *fuit quidem hoc neque ex lege, neque ex religione factum;* y por esto aun hoy, conservan y observan secretamente la Ley de sus padres, que

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por fuerça, y no por voluntad dexaron. Libre despues de la prision fue con intimo desseo y curiosidad investigar este caso, halló essa gente, habló con ellos, y desde aquel tiempo no paró hasta llegar aqui a darnos vna tan alegre nueva: en cuyo viage consumió todo lo que tenia, viviendo despues en harta necessidad y pobreza, por no querer comer en casa de ninguno, ni conseguir provecho alguno temporal deste trabajo. Yo mismo hablé con el, en el discurso de seys meses que aqui estuvo, en mi presencia y de muchas personas de calidad, juro solemnemente, que todo lo que dezia era verdad. Despues se fue a Parnanbuco, donde vivió dos años, y murió haziendo el mismo juramento a la hora de su muerte, quando mas el tiempo obliga, a no incurrir en semejante pecado de perjuro. Pues si todo esto es assi, por que no dare yo credito a vn hombre virtuoso, y enemigo de todo interes humano?

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XVIII. Y quien sabe, si el pronostico de los Moanes, que refiere nuestro Montezinos, tendra brevemente cumplimiento, conformandose con el de Iaques Vere, Astrologo de Praga, dirigido a su Alteza la Princesa Palatina, sobre los Cometas del año 1618. donde dize, y siendo este movimiento del Cometa para la parte del Sur, denota, que las ciudades y provincias, que mas brevemente han de sentir sus effectos, seran las jndias de Castilla, las quales daran vna gran cayda, y será de manera, que el tiempo lo dirá, y el Rey de España lo sentira mas de lo que agora imagina; no porque los gentiles de la tierra se levanten por su voluntad mas apertarlos han por las espaldas, a que se vengan a rebelar, y pelear contra sus amigos los Españoles. Y demas de le dar el Cometa este mal que ha de ser grande, el Eclipse del Sol, que se vió en aquellas partes el año passado, lo pronosticava. Hasta aqui el referido Astrologo, y nuestros sabios dizen, que avn que

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los Astrologos no alcancen todo, en muchas cosas aciertan.

§ V

XIX. Vltimamente de los grandes edificios que los Españoles hallaron en algunos lugares, se puede conjecturar, ser obra de los Israelitas, antes que se ocultassen en las montañas. El jnga Garcilasso de la vega, en la primera parte de sus comentarios del Pirú (*lib.* 3. *cap.* 2) cuenta, como en Tiahuanacu provincia del collao, entre algunos ediffìcios, se halló uno digno de immortal memoria, pegado a la laguna, llamada Chuquiuitu. Es a saber, un patio quadrado de 15. braças a una parte y a otra, con su cerca de mas de dos estados de alto; a vn lado del patio vna sala de quarenta y cinco pies de largo, y veinte y dos de ancho: donde lo que mas admira, es ser el patio con sus paredes y suelo, sala, techumbre, portadas, umbrales de dos puertas que la sala tiene, y otra puerta que tiene el patio, todo de vna sola pieça, hecha y labrada en vn peñasco, cuyas paredes del patio, y las de la sala eran de

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tres quartas de vara de ancho, dedicada segun los naturales Indios al hazedor del vniverso. Donde infiero, que pues los Indios eran idolatras, y no Tenian el vso de los instrumentos del hierro para poder labrar, se puede conjecturar, ser alguna Sinagoga hecha por Israelitas. Mayormente con lo que dize Acosta li. 1, hist. c.14. y Cieza 1.p. Chr. Piru c.37. que los Indios por tradicion affirmauan, que estos edificios fueron hechos por gente blanca, y con barbas, antes de los Ingas.

XX Esto es lo que breuemente podimos coligir acerca de la primera origen de los Americanos. Y puesto que el illustre Hugo grotius, y el Señor I. de Laet, tienen diversa opinion, la mas provable, es la que tengo referido. Y como la America sea segun piensan muchos, cercada del mar Oceano, y tiene infinitas Islas, segun consta de varios authores, y particularmente de aquella relacion hecha por Pedro hernandes de Quiros traduzida en lengua latina por Eselio gerardo, se puede entender, habla dellos el propheta Esayas *cap*. 60.

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que ami Islas esperaran, y navios de Tarsis en el principio para traer tus hijos de lexos, su prata, y su oro con ellos. Ieremias cap. 31.9. *oyd la palabra del Señor gentes, y de nunciad en las Islas de lexos, y dezid, esparzidor de Israel lo apañará* &c. David ps. 97. *El Señor reynó a gozarse ha la tierra, alegrarse han Islas muchas.*

§ VI.

XX. Despues desto, es de advertir que los diez Tribos no fueron todos captivos en un mismo tiempo: por que segun observamos en la segunda parte de nuestro Conciliador, Pul Rey de Asyria, llevó primeramente captivos en tiempo del Rey Pecah, los Tribus de Reuben y Gad, y la mitad del tribo de Menasseh, que habitavan de la otra parte del Iordan, los quales transportó a Halah, y Habor, rio de Gozan y ciudades, de Media, como consta del 1. de las Chron. *cap.* 5. 26 y Iosepho lib. 9. de sus Antiguedades. Tiglat Pilesser, 8 años despues tomó Hiun, Abel,

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Bet Maachá, Inoah, Azor, Guilad, Galilea, y toda la tierra de Naphtali, y los llevó captivos a Asyria (Reyes. 2. ca. 15.29.) Finalmente Salmanassar Rey de Assyria 9. años despues, en tiempo que reynava Osea hijo de Elá, estuvo 3. años sobre Samaria, llevó captivo el Rey, y el resto de los diez Tribos (Reyes 2. cap. 17. 5). De suerte que por tres vezes fueron captivos, donde como dize el Propheta Esayas en el cap. 8, 25. el primer captiverio fue ligero en comparacion del ultimo grave y duro, en que se acabó el Reyno, y extinguio la Monarchia de Israel. Pues assi como los Tribos fueron captivos en differentes tiempos, assi es de creer, que no estan todos juntos en una misma parte, sino que se dividieron en muchas. Por lo qual, assi como por el estrecho de Anian dezimos, que se passaron a las Indias Occidentales, assi se puede creer, que de la Tartaria, se fueron a la China por aquel lienço de muralla, que confina con ella, entre 43. y 48. grados. El argumento que tenemos para comprobar

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probar esto, consiste en la authoridad de dos Iesuitas, que en aquellas partes tuvieron su colegio, los quales ciertamente no quisieron adular a los Hebreos, y assi vale mas el testimonio dellos, quanto mas libre de passion, ó proprio interes.

XXII Nicolas Trigaucio, Flamenco de nacion, refiere en su libro intitulado *de Christiana expeditione apud sinas suscepta*, Que aviendo algunos años, que la compañia tenia su assiento y casa en la corte de Pequin, un judio de nacion y proffession, vino a visitar al P. Matheo Ricio, por aver leydo en vn libro Chino que los christianos de ninguna suerte eran Moros, y que no conocian a otro Dios, que al Señor del Cielo, y de la tierra: y assi pensando, que professauan la Ley de Moyse, entró en su casa con alegre semblante: y que sin duda en la nariz, en los ojos, y en todas las demas facciones de la cara, representava figura differente en todo de la de los Chinos. Y que llevandole el dicho M. Richio a la Iglesia, don-

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de estava en un altar, una imagen de Maria y su hijo a quien x. Iuan hincado de rodillas adorava: por que este dia era la fiesta de Iuan Bautista, y como este Iudio pensasse, que eran todos de su misma religion, imaginó que aquella imagen era de Ribca, y los niños, Iacob y Esau, y assi inclinandose, la reverenció, diziendo primero, que el no solia venerar imagen alguna, mas que no podia dexar de honrar aquellos padres de su linage y nacion: y que como a los lados del altar, estuviessen las imagenes de los 4. Evangelistas, preguntó el Iudio, si por ventura essos quatro eran de los 12 hijos de aquel que estava en el altar? Respondiole el P. que si, pensando que hablava de los 12. Apostoles: por que cada qual juzgava del otro lo que no era. Llevandolo despues de alli a su aposento, començo a preguntarle con mas cuydado, quien era? y poco a poco vino a entender, que professava la Ley antigua. Mas el mismo no sabia el nombre de Iudio, y se confessava solo, por Israelita, de don-

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de dize el author, se puede conjecturar, que el esparzimiento de los diez Tribos, penetró hasta los extremos del Oriente. Cuenta juntamente que abriendo la Biblia Plantiniana, conoció luego las letras Hebreas, aun que no pudo leerlas, y que del supieron como en aquella Metropolis, avia diez o doze casas, o familias de Israelitas, y una Sinagoga muy hermosa, en que pocos dias antes, avian gastado mas de diez mil escudos en repararla, y que de 500,o,600. años a esta parte, aguardavan en ella con grande veneracion los 5. libros de Moyse (el Pentateuco) embueltos en sus volumines, (que es el Scepher Torá) (o). Affirmava tambien, que en Hamcheu Metropolis de la Provincia de Chequian, avia muchas mas familias, con sus Sinagogas, y que este Iudio sabia relatar muchas historias del viejo Testamento, como la de Abraham, la de Iudith, la de Mardocheo y Ester, mas en el pronunciar se differenciava no poco: por que a Ierusalem llamava Hierusoloim, y al Messias

Moxiah.

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Moxiah: y dezia, que entre los de su Tribo, avia algunos no ignorantes de la lengua Hebrea, y entre estos un hermano suyo: y que el por aver trabajado desde niño en las letras Chinas, avia menospreciado aquel estudio, y dava a entender, que por aver abraçado con cuydado los preceptos destas letras, era juzgado casi por indigno de la compañia de los suyos, y del Sacerdote supremo de la Sinagoga, de lo que se le dava muy poco, si alcançasse el grado de Doctor. Finalmente dize estas palabras, Tres años despues embió el dicho P. M. Richio uno de nuestros hermanos Chino de nacion, a aquella Metropolis, para experimentar lo que el Iudio avia relatado, el qual halló, que todo era puntualmente verdad. Hizo tambien que le trasladassen los principios y fines de los libros que guardavan en su Sinagoga, los quales cotejamos despues con el Pentateuco, y hallamos ser una misma cosa, y unas mismas letras, solo que carecian de puntos al vso antiguo. El dicho P. escri-
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vió cartas en lengua China por el mismo mensajero al Presidente de la Sinagoga, en que dezia, que tenia en Pequin todos los libros del Testamento viejo y nuevo, donde se contenian los hechos del Messias, por que le affirmava, era ya venido. Aqui reparó el Archisinagoguo, diziendo, que el Messias auia de venir aun. Hasta aqui son palabras del author: de las quales basta para nuestro intento, la confession de que ay Israelitas de los diez Tribos, en la China.

XXIII El otro Iesuita es, Alphonso Cemedro, el qual testifica tambien, que en la Provincia de Horuen, situada hazia el Poniente de la China, ay una multitud immensa de Israelitas, que totalmente ignorauan, ser venido el Messias, los quales conjectura que son de los diez Tribos. Y cierto se puede affirmar por muchas cerimonias Iudaicas, que los Chinos tienen, como he visto en un libro manuscripto, que el nobilissimo y amplissimo señor Ioachimo Ficheforte tiene en su curio-

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sa libraria. Y quien sabe, si de la China passaron a Nueva España, por aquel estrecho que está entre los Reynos de Anian, y quiuira, que ya son tierra firme de Nueva España, y de alli a Panama, al Pirú, y a las demas Islas que ay por aquellas partes incognitas.

XXIV Destos (segun mi opinion) habla el Propheta Esayas cap. 49. 12. tratando de la reduccion de Israel a la patria *He aqui estos de lexos vendran, y estos del Septentrion, y del Occidente, y estos de tierra de* סינים *Sinenses.* Y assi Ptolomeo (lib. 7. c. 3. tab 11) a este reyno de los Chinos, llama, *Regio sinarum:* y esta es la verdadera significacion deste nombre, y no la interpretacion de Aben Ezra, el qual le deduze de סנה sené, çarça, y dize, que es region de Egipto: en todo lo qual ciertamente se engañó.

§ VII.

XXV. Facilmente se puede tam. bien conjecturar, que assi como los diez tribos, creciendo en numero, fu-

eron estendiendo sus colonias, cami nando poco a poco, hazia las Provincias dichas, assi en la misma Tartaria se ensancharon. Consta claramente esto de Abram Ortelio, en el libro de su cosmographia, llamado, *Theatro del mundo*, donde en la Charta de Tartaria señala un lugar, llamado, *Horda* (que es lo mismo que, ירידה) jerida, descendida *de los Danitas:* y mas abaxo haze mencion de otro lugar, llamado, *Horda de los Naphtalitas*, diziendo, que estos Naphtalitas del Tribo de Naphtali, vencieron en el año de 476, oy haze, 1173 años, a Peruzas Rey de Persia.

XXVI. Esta victoria relata Agathias *lib.* 4. diziendo, que en tiempo del Emperador Zenon, este Peruzas, dio dos batallas a los Naphtalitas, en las quales ultimamente perecio. Por que de la primera vez, le fue forçoso pedir la paz (por aver entrado por lugares angostos e incognitos) la qual alcançó, debaxo de condicion, que se obligava, a no moverles mas guerra, y que en señal de sub-

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geccion, se postraria delante del vencedor: lo que hizo, por consejo de sus Magos, para el Oriente, al tiempo que el Sol salia, para que assi pareciesse, que al vso de la patria, adoraua el Sol, y no al enemigo. Pero aviendo jurado, escritas estas condiciones, no mucho despues, sentido desta afrenta, bolviendo a rehazer su exercito, y tornando con mas audacia que consejo, sobre los Naphtalitas, bolvio á ser vencido: por que estos levantando en alto los pergaminos de las pazes juradas, viendo que con todo insistian, se fueron como retirando a unas fuessas llenas de aguas; las quales tenian hechas cubiertas con tal dissimulacion y arte, que no conocieron el daño, hasta que lo sintieron con perdida de las vidas: donde Peruzas con todo el exercito perecio. Refiere esta misma Historia, Pedro Teixera: author fidedigno, en sus Relaciones de los Reyes de Persia, *cap.* 32. con alguna diferencia: por que a estos *Napthalitas*, llama, *Euthalitas:* y lo mis-

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mo haze Procopio, *lib.* 1. *de bello Persarum*, y es lo mismo, por Apheresin de una letra. Guilhelmo Schikardo en su *Tarich*, o serie de los Reyes de Persia, folio 131. relatando esta Historia, dize. Estos Naphtalitas que vencieron a Peruzas, son del Tribo de Naphtali. Lo qual se puede comprovar com estas razones Primera, que en los antigos exemplares de Agathias, se halla el nombre pleno con todas sus letras *Naphtalitas*. Segunda que en la cara se les echa de ver: por que Pro copio 1. c. dize, que estos no son feos y negros, como los *Hunos*, entre los quales habitán, mas blancos: por donde se conoce, ser gente que de otra parte alli fue transmigrada. Tercera, que no les parecen en las costumbres: por que los Hunos, jamas estan de assiento en un lugar, mas mudan de ordinario como los Arabes, sitio; lo que no hazen estos Naphtalitas que habitan de assistencia en una region. Estos (dize Procopio) viuen con leyes, y policia, a modo de los Romanos, siendo bien governa-

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dos de su principe. Sepultan assi mismo honestamente sus defuntos, y no los echan por ahi como hazen los barbaros, y las vezinas gentes, entre las quales biven. Esto pues es lo que dize Abraham Ortelio de la victoria que estos Naptalita tuvieron de Peruzas. Y supuesto que Azarya a A-domi, fue hombre doctissimo, y muy versado en las letras Griegas y Latinas en esto erró manifiestamente, diziendo en su celebérrimo li. Meor enaim, que estos vencieron vna provincia llamada Peruza, aviendo de dezir, a Peruza, rey de Persia, y no provincia: tanto importa muchas vezes, la varia leccion de libros.

XXVI Dize mas el referido Ortelio en dicha charta, como en la region de Tabur (de quien Solino haze tambien mesion en el cap. 49.) habita un pueblo, elqual supuesto que avian perdido los libros sagrados viuen unidos debaxo de un Rey, el qual vino a Francia el año de 1530. y habló con el Rey Francisco, y despues por mandado de Carlos fue quemado en Mantua: por que

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secretamente persuadia los principes de la Christiandad al Iudaismo, y particularmente al mismo Emperador. lo mismo refiere Botero en sus Relaciones, de la vltima parte de la Tartaria: pero a la verdad ambos fueron mal informados: por que Ribi Ioseph a Coen, hombre fidedigno en su Chronologia, relata con mas certitud, que el Iudio que vino de aquellas partes, era hermano de un Rey Israelita, y se llamava David a-Rehubeni, esto es, del Tribu de Reuben, el qual atravessando por las Indias, vino a Portugal, y alli hizo Iudio al secretario del Rey, y circuncidandose, se llamó Selomoh Molcho, y vino a ser en brevissimo tiempo tan grande sabio en la Ley, y aun en la misma Cabalá, (p) que admiró toda Italia con su raro ingenio. Este secretario pues, y David Reubenita, persuadieron al Rey Francisco, y despues al Papa, y Carlos quinto, a que abraçassen el Iudaysmo: por lo qual Selomoh Molcho fue presso en Mantua, y despues quemado vivo, en el año de 1540. por man-

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dado del Emperador, aun que le concedian la vida, si se bolvia Christiano. El Reubenita fue llevado del Emperador preso a España, donde murió de alli á algunos dias. Abraham Frisol haze tambien mencion deste David Reubenita en el libró de su Cosmographia, intítulado Orhot olam, donde dize, Hoy haze 45. años, que un David Reubenita, Principe de los Israelitas, vino á Európa, de Tabor Provincia de Tartaria, el qual testifica, que en aquellas comarcas, ay dos Tribos, y otros algo mas adelante con sus Reyes y Principes, y son en tanta multitud, que no se puede redezirse a numero. Y ya, puede ser que esta provincia de תבור Tabor, corrupto algo el nombre, sea la de חבור *Habor*, de que se haze mencion en el 2. de los Reyes, cap. 17. 6. donde se dize, que Salmanasar los transporto para Halah y Habor &c. por la semejança que tienen estas dos letras ח het, y ת Tau.

XXVIII De aquellas tierras, oy haze en circa de 500. años, vino tambien a caso un Israelita, llamado Eldad-A-

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dani, esto es, del Tribu de Dan, de quien se halla oy una carta, intitulada ספר אלדד הדני Sepher Eldad A dani, el qual siendo diversamente examinado por los sabios de aquel tiempo, fue aprobado por hombre verdadero. El doctissimo Rebi David kimhi, que floreció ha 450. año en su libro de las Rayzes, acerca de la rayz שגה faga dize וכתב רבי יונה בשם רבי יהודה בן קריש כי הוא שמע מאלדד הדני יש לי שגיה במקום יש לי עסק *R. Iona escribio en nombre de R. Iehuda Aben Karis, aver oydo dezir a Eldad Danita, quando tenia alguna ocupacion, tengo* שגיה *segiah.* Y assi lo que diximos arriba se verifica con los testimonios dichos.

§. VIII.

XXIX. Habita tambien parte de los diez tribos en la Ethiopia, y Abasia, jmperio del Preste Iuan, como de ello han dado informacion en Roma diversos Abyssinos, que vinieron de aquellas partes. Botero en sus Relaciones lo affirma, diziendo, que sobre el Nilo habitan dos gentes poderosas, y que la vna es Hebrea, debaxo

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del govierno de un poderoso Rey. Rabi Abraham Frisol en el libro citado, affirma, aver oydo relatar lo mismo a dos hombres doctos que estuvieron en aquellos lugares, los quales certificaron lo proprio a Hercules Duque de Ferrara: y no ay duda, que dellos tomaron los Abyssinos, la circuncision, la celebracion del Sabado, y otras varias costumbres que oy tienen Judaicas. Vn cierto Cosmographo juntamente, que hizo las addiciones a las Tablas de Ptolomeo, en la tabla de la Affrica Nueva, dize. Esta parte nueva del Affrica fue incognita á los antiguos, los quales no supieron la origen del Nilo, que empieça en aquellos montes, llamados de los antiguos, Montes de la Luna, donde habita una immensa multitud de Israelitas, que pagan tributo al Preste Iuan, señor de aquellas tierras.

XXX. Destos parece y no ay duda que habla el Propheta Esayas c. 18. diziendo: *ó tierra sombría de alas, que de la otra parte de los rios de Ethiopia*. Estos, dize,

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que embiaran sus embaxadores con el pueblo a Ierusalaim, en vasos de junco, que son las Almadias, en que de ordinario navegan. *Leuad* (diran) *aquel pueblo sacado de su patria, y pelado, que está entre nos, por presente al Dios de Cebaoth, al lugar del nombre del Dios de Cebaoth, al monte de Cion.* Sophonias, cap. 3. 9. *Entonces convertire a los pueblos labia clara para llamar todos ellos en nombre del Señor, para servirlo en vn culto: de la otra parte de los rios de Ethiopia. Atray bat Pussay* (naciones de Ethiopia) *lleuaran a mi presente*, conformando con lo que dize Esayas; *Ytraeran a todos vuestros hermanos* (que son los diez Tribos) *presente al Señor.*

§. IX.

XXXI. Tambien no ay duda que avn oy habitan en la Media, de la otra parte del Euphrates, donde fue su transmigracion primera, como consta del 2. de los Reyes, cap. 17.24. y de la Historia de Tobías: por que en estas regiones

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regiones se hallan inaccesibles desiertos. Flavio Iosepho insigne historiador parece que trata destos, quando en el proemio del libro de las Guerras judaicas, dize, que los Iudios pensaron entonces, que todos sus hermanos que estauan allende del Euphrates, y aun mas adelante, se avian de levantar contra los Romanos. Agrippa juntamente en aquella oracion que hizo a los de Ierusalem, para que no se rebelassen contra los Romanos, dize desta suerte. A quien pensais tomar por compañeros en esta guerra? todos los que moran en este mundo habitable pagan tributo a los Romanos, salvo si alguno de vos otros estiende sus esperanças hazia la otra parte del Euphrates. El dicho Iosepho en el *lib.* II. de sus Antig. cap. I. tratando de los que tornaron de Babilonia a Ierusalem, en tiempo de Esdras, dize, todo el pueblo de Israel quedó en esta Provincia de Media: porque los dos Tribos, habitan solamente en la Asia y Europa, sugetas

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a los Romanos, y los diez, allende del Euphrates, los quales son en tanto numero, que apenas se puede comprehender; y desta primera transmigracion se ha de creer, que al mismo passo que iuan aumentando, se dilataron para las provincias dichas.

§ *X*

XXXII Vltimamente es fama, que estan assi mismo parte de los diez Tribos detras del rio Sabatico, y dello an dado celebres y antiguos authores, testimonio, y primeramente R. Iohanan autor del Talmud Ierusolomitano 150. años despues de la destruycion del segundo Templo dize en el tratado de Sanhedrim (q) cap. 17. que en tres partes fueron tránsmigrados los diez Tribos a saber, dentro del rio Sabation, en Daphné de Antiochia, y en otro lugar donde baxó una nuve, y los cubrió: y que destas mismas tres, bolueran a ser redemidos, explicando en esta forma aquel verso de Esayas cap. 49. *Para dezir a los*

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encarcelados, *salid*, estos son los que fueron transmigrados dentro del rio Sabathion, *y a los que en la escuridad, sed descubiertos*, aquellos que estan cubiertos con la nuve: *y sobre todos caminos apacentaran*, los que quedaron en Daphne de Antiochia. Qual sea esta Antiochia, supuesto que de 12 hazen mension los Historiadores, es cierto tratan de la fabricada en Syria: donde דפני *Daphne*, es vn lugar amenissimo que sirve de arrabal a la ciudad: como consta claramente de las tablas Geographicas. Donde se echa de ver, quan mal transladó Lemperur, en la traduccion del Itinerario de Binyamin Tudelense, *ad latera Antiochiæ:* por que avn que esta voz, דופן *dophen* algunas vezes significa, lado, aqui דפני es nombre proprio, como tengo mostrado. De las *nuves*, se haze mension en el Sceder Holam, llamandolas, *montes de la escuridad*, y lo mismo en el Talmud Babilonico, tratado de Sanhedrin cap. 11.

XXXIII. R. Ionatan Ben vziel, avn

mas antigo, que floreció 100. años antes de la destruycion del Templo, sobre el Exodo, cap. 34. 10. donde dize el Señor, *escuentra todo tu pueblo hare maravillas, que no fueron criadas*, &c. refiere estas maravillas á la transmigracion del pueblo, ואסליקון מתמן ואשרינון מן לגיו לנהר סבטיון וכאינון פרישן לא איתבריו בכל דיורי ארעא.

Quitarlos he de alli de los rios de Babilonia, y hazerlos he posar dentro del rio Sabatico, y como estos portentos no fueron jamas hechos en todos los habitadores de la tierra.

XXXIV En Beresit Raba, libro de grande authoridad, parasa 11. relatan H, que preguntando Tornorophos a R. Aquiba (el qual fue martirizado por los Romanos 52. años despues de la destruycion del Templo) de donde constava ser el seteno dia, que celebravan por festivo, aquel en que el Señor holgó en la criacion del mundo? provó lo infalible del, con el rio Sabatico, cuyas piedras estavan en continuo movimiento seis dias, y al Sabat repozaban. La misma historia se refie-

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ere en el Tamud Babilonico, tratado de Sanh c.7. y Tanhuma Par. Tisa. R. Simon, dize tambien עשרת השבטים גלו לפנים מן נהר סבטיון שבט יהודה ובני מין מפוזרים בכל הארצות *los diez Tribus fueron transmigrados dentro del rio Sebathion, Iehudah y Biniamin*, *estan derramados por todas las mas tierras*. Y assi en Sir Asirim Rabá, sobre el penúltimo verso del cap. 1. de los Cantares, *tambien nuestro lecho reverdecido*, dizen, estos son los diez Tribos, que fueron transportados dentro del rio Sabatico.

XXXV Por esta via pues quedaron los tribos encerrados en aquel lugar: por que en los seis dias de la semana, impide milagrosamente la salida, el movimiento del rio, y en el Sabado en que reposa, es prohibido a los Iudios el caminar. Con que se ha totalmente perdido la noticia destos. Y assi en el Ialkut entienden los Antigos, que destos habla Esahias quando en el c. 49. dize, *para dezir a los encarcelados, salid.* Por otra parte R. Aquiba, destos mismos entiende el verso del Levitico cap. 26. 38 y

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deperderuoseis en las gentes, y consecutivamente, el verso de Esayas 27. *Y vendran los perdidos, en tierra de Assiria*: y por la distancia de las tierras remotas donde viven, otro sabio (en Bamidbar Raba Parasah 16.) les aplica el verso de Esayas 49. *he aqui estos de lexos vendran*, &c. De suerte que todos estos Authores, hazen mencion deste rio.

XXXVI Es tambien illustre el testimonio de Flauio Iosepho, en el setimo libro de las guerras Iudaicas cap. 24. donde refiere, que passando el Emperador Tito ente Arcas y Raphanea, ciudades del Rey Agripa, vió un rio muy maravilloso: por que siendo que nace y corre abundante, de seys á seys dias falta de su manantial, y lugar donde nace, y viene a mostrarse seco, sin correr mas, y que luego passado el seteno, como sino uviesse passado mutacion alguna, buelue a nacer muy abundante como solia: y que guardando siempre esta infallible orden, fue llamado por esto, Sabatico, de la fiesta sagrada de los Iudios, cuyo descanço

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en el seteno imita. Y esta es la verdadera version de este Texto, que algunos corronpen: por que si este rio se llama *Sabatico*, de la celebracion del Sabado, claro está que en el reposa, y no haze movimiento. Plinio dize lo mismo en el lib. 31. c. 2, de su natural historia, sino que mal informado lo constitue en *Iudea*, saluo si por Iudea, entiende donde oy habitan estos Iudios, o Israelitas.

XXXVII. R. Selomoh Iarhy, varon Doctissimo, que floreció oy haze 500. años, en el comento del Talmud, haze tambien mencion deste rio, diziendo, que las piedras y arena del, estan todos los seys dias de la semana en perpetuo movimiento hasta llegar el Sabado.

XXXVIII. Discursa sobre esto tambien R. Mordehay Iaphé en su excelentissimo libro Iephe Toar, diziendo que este nombre סבטיון *Sabation*, se deriva de Sabat, en aquella forma que los Arabes lo pronuncian, los quales tienen por costumbre añadir

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en los Adjectiuos esta particula יון *yon:* y assi dc Sabat, hazen Sabathion.

XXXIX. Affirma juntamente este mismo Author, aver oydo dezir de una redoma de vidro, llena de arena de aquel rio, la qual estava en continuo movimiento hasta el Sabado. El mismo testimonio, podré yo dar de oyda, del qual tengo tanta satisfacion, como si propriamente lo uviesse visto: por que lo ohi a mi padre que esté en gloria, y es cosa cierta, que los padres no suelen engañar los hijos.

Contava pues algunas vezes, que en la ciudad de Lixboa, vn Moro tenia una redoma desta arena, y que para infamar a los christianos Nuevos, de Iudios, solia passearse al Viernes, entrante el Sabado, por la calle llamada Rua Noua, donde tienen sus tiendas, y enseñandoles la redoma, dezia, cerrad las tiendas Iudios, que ya es llegado el Sabado. De otra redoma semejante a esta ohi contar al señor H. Meyr Rophe; persona fidedigna, que estava pocos años ha puesta a la puer-

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ta de vna Mezquita en Halepo, y que passando el Cady (que es el Iuez) por alli, preguntando, que era aquello? la mandó sacar, reprovando a los Moros, de que avian fortificado con ello el dia de los Iudios.

Esto destas redomas, no me atreviera ciertamente a escrevir, a no lo aver primero testificado tan eminente sabio, como el Author recitado: aunque yo lo creo por sin duda, y que no solamente hizo el Señor este milagro para ally encerrar parte de los diez Tribus, mas aun otros muchos, como se dize en el 4. de Ezras.

XL. Este rio siente R. Moseh Gerundense insigne Cabalista, y grande expositor de la Ley, en la Parasa de Aazinu, que es el rio גוזן Gozan, de que se haze mencion en el 2. de los Reyes.

R. Binyamin de Tudela, hombre pio y docto, saliendo de Navarra, despues de larga peregrinacion, bolvio a España, donde murio el año de 4933. oy haze 473 años. Este entre las cosas que escrive en su Itinerario, dize.

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ומשם מהלך׳ כח יום להרי ניסבון אשר על נהר
גוזן ויש שם אנשים מישראל בארץ פרס שהם
משם ואומרים כי בערי ניסבוד ארבעה שבטים
מישראל שבט דן ושבט זבולן ושבט אשר ושבט
נפתלי הגולה הרשונה שהגלה שלמנסר מלך אשור
כמו שבתו ויגלם בחלה ובחבור נהר גוזן וערי מדי
ומהלך ארצם עשרים יום ויש להה מדינות וכרבים
בהרים מצד אחד מקיף אותם נהר גוזן ואין
עליהם עול גוים כי אם נשיא אחד עליהם ושמו
רבי יוסף אמרכלא הלוי וביניהם תלמידו חכמים
וזורעים וקוצרים והולבים למלחמה לארץ כורת

Deste lugar, camino de 28.*dias*(*se llega*)*alos montes de Nisebon que sobre el rio Gozan: y en Persia, ay algunos Israelitas destas partes, los quales dizen, que en las ciudades de Nisebor, ay* 4. *tribos de Israel, a saber, el tribo de Dan y el Tribo de Zebulun, el de Asser y Naphtali, primero captiverio que captivó Zalmanasar Rey de Assiria: como está escrito, a Halah y Habor, rio de gozan y ciudades de Media: y el ambito de sus tierras, es camino de* 20 *dias. Tienen ciudades y castillos en los montes, de una parte los circunda el rio Gozan, y no tienen jugo de otras gentes, sino vn principe cuyo nombre es R. Iosep A. marchela Levita, y entre ellos, sabios, y siem-*

bran

bran y siegan, y van a la guerra a tierra de Cut.

XLI El sitio y region donde se halla, ignoro. Oy haze 15. años que en la ciudad de Lublin, dos polacos despues de muy larga peregrinacion, estamparon un libro pequeño en lengua germanica mostrando el lugar adonde le avian visto: mas por orden del Tribunal, en la feria de Werslauia, fue mandado quemar a presuacion de los Iesuitas. R. Abraham Frisol (en el cap. 24. del Orhot Olam) siente que está en la India: y assi dize, מוצא נהר סבטיון בגלילות האינדיאה הזאת העליונה בין נהרי גנגים *la origen deste rio sabatico, es en la India superior entre los rios del Ganges*, y mas abaxo נהר סבטיון למעלה מקליקוט מוצאו ומפסיק בין האינדיאני החם לקצת מלכות היהודים ושם תמצאנו בודאי *El rio sabatico arriba de Calikout es su origen, y divide los Indios de una parte del Reyno de los Iudios, y alli lo hallaras cieramente*, y en el cap. 24. conjectura que גוזן gozan es lo mismo que גנגז ganges, por la similitud de los vocablos. Eldad Danita en su Epistola descrive

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las calidades deste rio, y dize, que tiene de largo 200. codos, y que a sus margines se colocan quatro Tribos, Dan, Naphtali, Gad, y Asser. Sobre todo Iosepho que para mi es de mayor authoridad, en el cap. 24 del lib. de las guerras Iudaicas, dize, que el Emperador Tito lo vió, y es cierto que no mintió en cosa, que el mismo Emperador, le pudiera desmentir. Pero supuesto que en la India (segun consta de las Decadas de Ioan de Bayros, y aun de otros varios authores) habitan muchos Iudios, los tales a lo que se entiende, son de los dos Tribos Iehuda y Binyamin. Por lo qual este rio Sabatico, (donde por tradicion estan parte de los diez Tribos encerrados,) se puede mas facilmente creer, que está junto al mar Caspio. Y deste parecer fueron diversos escriptores.

XLII Y no es cierto difficultad la que algunos proponen, diziendo, que si estan en el mundo, como no ay mayor noticia dellos: pues vemos que aun las mismas cosas que conocemos, no sabemos la origen dellas, como

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no se ha alcançado hasta agora perfectamente, la origen y nacimiento de aquellos quatro rios tan famosos, Nilo, Ganges, Euphrates y Tigris. Muchos Reynos no estan aun descubiertos, como en la Tartaria, en la America, todos los confines del Norte, Florida, y Reyno de Anian. En el Pirú desde Quito hasta donde desenboca el rio Marañon, y todas las incognitas, que es mucho mas tierra, que la descubierta.

XLIII Ademàs, de que aun que esten algunos entre tierras conocidas, y cercanas, pueden detras de Cordilleras y montes, estar ocultos, como en tiempo de Ferdinando e Isabella se hallaron las Batuecas del Duque de Alva, no lexos de Salamanca, y junto de Placencia, donde estuvieron recogidos desde el tiempo que los Moros tomaron a España, algunos Españoles, por espacio de mas de 800 años. Pues si en el riñon de España uvo gentes ocultas tanto tiempo, como no podrá suceder lo mismo a estos Israelitas? Quanto mas, que el Señor, dize clara-

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mente en el Deuteronomio cap. 32. Arrinconarlos he, hare cessar de varon su memoria. Esto es, echarlos he en los rincones y extremos de todas las provincias, con que se perderá totalmente la memoria dellos. Luego segun esto cessa la difficultad: por que se vé, que el Señor los ocultó desta suerte: y aun por eso se llaman en las divinas letras, *perdidos*, *y encarcelados*, como avemos mostrado.

§ XI.

XLVI. Estos observan actualmente oy nuestra Ley divina, como consta del 2. de los Reyes cap. 17. 26, donde se relata, que auiendo sido llevados en captiverio por Salmanasar, y transportados a Samaria y mas tierras de Israel los Cutheos, siendo estos Idolatras, y ignorando que aquellas tierras, requerian otros ritos, eran grandemen te afligidos de los leones, que entrauan por sus poblaciones: por cuya causa el dicho Rey les embió un Sacerdote

Israelita

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Israelita sabio, que les instruyese en su Ley: el qual viendo, que quitarles del todo la Idolatria era impossible, les concedió el uso de aquellas deidades, con tanto que reconociesen una primera causa sobre todas. Consta lo mismo de las historias recitadas: por que los nuestros observan la Ley, fuera de la patria con mayor zelo, faltando con el captiverio la ambicion y competencia que tenian con la casa de David, que fue causa de abusar de su religion antigua, y retirarse de Ierusalem, y de la obediencia deuida al Señor, y a su Templo.

§ XII.

XLV Consta tambien claramente, que ninguno de los diez Tribus, bolvió al segundo Templo, del libro 1. de Ezras cap. 1. donde dize, y *levantaronse cabeças, de los padres a Iehuda y Binyamin para subir para edificar a casa de .A. y* en el principio del cap. 2. *Y estos hijos de la provincia que captivo Nebuc-*

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hadnesar Rey de Babel a Babilonia. Vesse luego que solamente algunos de Iehuda y Binyamin, bolvieron: El mismo Ezras, escribe tambien en el primero del Paralipomenon cap. 5. verso vltimo, que Salmanasar los llevó captivos a Halah Habor, Harah, y rio de Gozan, *hasta el dia el este:* luego en su tiempo aun no avian buelto. Iosepho dize lo proprio en el lib. II. cap. 5. de sus Antiguedades.

XLVI Objectara contra esto ya puede ser alguno, que si Media y Persia juntan sus limites con Babilonia, como no bolvieron a Ierusalem, assi como bolvieron los otros dos Tribus de la misma Babilonia? A lo que respondo, que si destos no boluieron sino un numero muy pequeño, estando aun mas cerca, o por que estavan ya arraygados en Babilonia, con casas, y heredades, o por que sabian de los Prophetas, que aquella no era redencion perfecta, y que la total, y eterna auia de ser en el fin de los dias; como aquellos que estavan mas lexos, y que sabian

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lo mismo, querrian priuarse de su quietud, para provar nuevos caminos y calamidades? Quanto mas, que no consta, que el Rey Cyro diesse licencia mas que a los dos Tribus, Ieuda y Binyamin. Vltra desto, ellos hizieron un viage tan prolongado, si damos credito al quarto de Ezras, que apenas podrian tener noticia desta redencion. Y es de creer (como dizen algunos authores) que entre ellos y sus vezinos ay guerras ordinarias, con que se les impide el passo.

§. XIII.

XLVII. Segun lo que hasta agora avemos escrito, los avemos colocado, en las Indias Occidentales; en la China, en los confines de Tartaria; de la otra parte del rio Sabation; y del Euphrates en la Media; y en la Ethiopia confines de los Abissines. De todos pues estos lugares parece que habla el Propheta Esayas cap. 11 donde tratando de la venida del Messias, dize, *y sera en el dia el esse, aña-*

dir

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dirá el Señor segunda vez, para adquerir al resto de su pueblo, que restará de Assiria, y de Egipto, y de Patros y de Ethiopia, y Elam, y de Sinhar, y Hamat, y de las islas del Occidente.

Asyria, y Egipto, son las dos Provincias donde todos los doze tribos, se juntaran, en el tiempo de la redencion, futura, de que a delante hablaremos.

פתרוס *Patros*, no es *Pelusia*, ni *Petra*, mas *Parthia*, vicina del mar Caspio, donde con el parecer de muchos, dezimos, que está el rio Sabatico. Supuesto que otra *Patros* ay en el reyno de Egipto, como bien observa el. Semuel Bochardo, en su Geograp. Sacra.

כוש *Cus*, Conforme, a la opinion comun, es Ethiopia, como consta del cap. 13. verso 23, de Ieremias. Y segun esto aqui señala Esayas, los tribos que constituimos en el reyno de los Abissines.

עילם *Helam*, es Provincia en Persia, de la otra parte del rio Euphrates, como consta del verso 2. cap. 8, de Daniel, donde ay inacessibles desier-

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tos, y cerranias donde pueden estar ocultos.

שנער *sinhar*, Es provincia cerca Babilonia, como se puede ver en el cap. 10. verso 10. del Genesis, donde se dize, que Babel era en tierra de *sinhar:* y en Daniel 1, verso 2, se narra, que Nebuchadnesar llevó los vasos del sacro Templo, a la tierra de Sinhar.

חמת *Hamat*, En muchos lugares, se haze en las divinas letras, mension de Hamat. La paraphrases Chaldea dize, ser Antiochia, y lo mismo sienten diversos expositores. Mas como aya diversas Hamat, y al mismo passo los geographos, hagan mension de 12, Antiochias fabricadas por varios principes, difficilmente se puede affirmar, de qual dellas hable aqui el Propheta. Lo que yo conjecturo, es, que señala la Antiochia Asyatica, en Tartaria: y que aqui se comprenden los que están en aquellas partes. La version que llaman de los 70 Jnterpretes, por *Hamat*, translada, del *Oriente*; y a mi ver, no vá fuera del pro-

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posito: por que חמת *Hamat*, puede ser lo mismo que חמה *hamá*, *Sol*, o Oriente, y segun esto aqui se incluen todos los que estan al Oriente de la tierra Santa, en la Asya mayor, India, y China.

איי הים *Hiye a yam.* Islas del mar, interpretan algunos: pero a mi ver, con mas propriedad, se deve romancear, Islas del Occidente: por que ים significa en toda la sagrada Scriptura, quando se trata de las 4, partes del mundo, la Occidental: como se puede ver en el Genesis, cap. 28, 14, y otros varios lugares. Y assi se incluen todos los Israelitas que en respecto de tierra santa estan para el Occidente, entre los quales, se comprenden los Americanos.

XLVIII. Sigue pues el Propheta diziendo: *y alsara pendon a las gentes, y apañara los empuxados de Israel, y los esparzidos de Iehuda, congregara de las quatro partes de la tierra:* donde se debe notar, que a los Israelitas llama נדחים (nidahim) *empuxados*, y a los de Iehuda נפוצים (nephussim) *esparzidos:* y la razon dello

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lo, es, por que los diez Tribus habitan no solamente muy lexos de la Tierra santa, mas en qualquiera parte que estan viven en las extremidades y partes mas remotas de aquellas regiones pobladas de gentiles, mas no se halla que habiten en la Europa; y asi que solamente los dos tribus estan derramados por todo el mundo, y destos que se incluyen en Ieuda, y dize que los apartará de las quatro partes de la tierra, como sea que ya oy tienen Synagogas en la America.

XIX. Prosigue el Propheta, *en aquel tiempo se quitará la embidia de entre Ieuda y Ephraim*, por que no aurá mas discordia entre los de Iehudá y los diez Tribus, cuyo primero Rey Ieroboam, fue del Tribu de Ephraim, de quien deriuan el nombre, por que entonces (como dize Ezekiel en el c. 37) *no se diuidirán mas en dos Reynos, un Principe será a todos ellos, que será de la familia de Dabid.*

Y quanto a la redencion, dize que el Señor, al modo de lo que hizo en la

salida de Egipto en el mar Roxo, hará en aquel tiempo en el Nilo, por que lo secará, y el Euphrates partirá en 7 arrojos, por donde passaran a pie enxuto los 7. captiuerios de Assiria, de Egipto &c. o por ventura siete Tribus que estan por aquellas partes, y es lo mismo que dize Esayas en el cap. 27. *y será en el dia el esse sacudira el Dio de la corriente del rio,* Euphrates, *hasta el rio de Egipto* (Nilo) *y vos sereis congregados vno a vno, o hijos de Israel.* lo que no se cumplio en la redencion de Babilonia, por que no passaron, ni por el Nilo, ni por otro alguno de Ethiopia.

L. Y lo que en estos versos dize el Propheta Esayas, que Dios volverá segunda vez &c. es, por que la redencion de Babilonia, no se puede llamar con este titulo: por que no se congregaron todos los 12. Tribos a la patria, mas la futura sera uniuersal a todos, como fue en la salida de Egipto, a la qual parecera esta vltima en muchas

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cosas, como mostramos en la 3. parte de nuestro Conciliador: y assi la redencion, futura se llama segunda, en respectò de la salida de Egipto: por cuya razon dice Jermias, que en aquel tiempo no se dira mas, uivo el Señor que hizo subir a hijos de Israel de Egipto, sino que los hizo subir del Septentrion y de todos los lugares donde los empuxó. Donde se ve, que no haze caso de la salida de Babilonia, por la razon ya dicha.

LI El mismo Propheta en el cap. 41. 5. recupila en otra forma, esta general reduccion, diziendo. *No temas que contigo yo, del Oriente traere tu simiente, y del Occidente te apañaré, diré al Septentrion, dá, y al Meridion, no vedes, traé mis hijos de lexos, y mis hijas del cabo de la tierra.* donde la Media, Persia, India, y China estan al Oriente de la Tierra santa: la Tartaria, o Scythia Asyatica, al Septentrion; la Abasia, al Meridion; Europa, al Occidente. Trae mis hijos de lexos, es de la America, o Indias Occidentales: y desta suerte en estos dos versos, se seña-

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lan, todos los lugares donde los Tribos estan dilatados. En el cap. 49. consecutivamente, con suma felicidad, allanados y facilitados los caminos, se pregona la misma reduccion: y en el cap. 56. *dicho del Señor Dio, el que congrega los empuxados de Israel.* Ieremias fue por el consiguiente insigne albriciador desta felicidad. En el cap. 23 *En sus dias del Messiæs* (dice) *sera salvo Iehuda, y Israel morará seguramente;* y no ay duda segun el general consentimiento de todos los expositores, y aun de Ieronimo, que quando se nombra Israel, con Iehudá, se entiende, por los diez Tribos.

LII. Pues en el cap. 31. consuela a Rahel que llora por sus hijos Ioseph y Binyamin captivos, el uno por Salmanasar a Assiria, y el otro por Nebuchadnesar a Babilonia; Veda (dize) o Rahel *tu voz de lloro, y tus ojos de lagrimas, que ay premio a tu obra, dicho de .A. y tornaran los hijos a su termino* y en esta conformidad: en el cap. 33. 7. y *haré tornar el captiverio de Iehuda, y el captiverio de Israel, y ediffi-*

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carlos he como en el principio. Ezekiel affirma lo mismo en el cap. 34. 13, y en 37. 16. debaxo de la figura de los dos palos con los nombres de Iehuda y Ephrim, muestra, el ayuntamiento de los 12. Tribus, y que será debaxo de una sola cabeça, que es el Messiah hijo de Dauid, diziendo: *y un Pastor sera a todos ellos*. Amos testifica lo mismo en sus vltimos versos: *y volveré la tornanza de mi pueblo Israel; y ediffìcaran ciudades dessoladas, y estaran y plantaran viñas, y beueran sus vinos, y haran huertos, y comeran sus frutas, y plantarloshe sobre su tierra, y no seran arrancados mas de sobre su tierra, que di a ellos dixo el Señor tu D*. Micheas prophetiza lo proprio en el c. 2. 12 *apañar apañaré Iahacob todo tu*, y esto dize, por que del captiuerio de Babilonia, no fueron apañados todos. Zacharias sigue lo mismo en el cap. 8. 7. y en el 10. 6. y todos los demas Prophetas.

§. XIV.

LIII. El modo desta reduccion es

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con todo oculta a todos, mas lo que se puede colegir de los Prophetas, es, que en el tiempo de la futura redencion, los 10. Tribus vendran a la Tierra Sancta acaudillados por un principe y caudillo, que los sabios antiguos llaman en el Talmud, y Paraphrases Chaldaica, en algunos lugares, Messias hijo de Ioseph; y en otros, hijo de Ephraim: el qual siendo muerto en la vltima guerra de Gog y Magog, se descubrira el Messias hijo de Dauid, el qual (como dize Ezekiel, y Oseas) quedara por principe eterno, sobre todos los 12. Tribus.

LIV Deste Messiah ben Ephraim, hazen mension los Antigos en muchos lugares, y particularmente en el Talmud Babilonico, tratado de Suca cap. 5. Dizen que ha de morir en aquella vltima guerra de Gog y Magog, y del entienden aquel texto de Zecharias cap. 12. *y miraran a mi por el que alansearon, y lloraran por el, como se suele llorar por la muerte de vn hijo vnigenito.* Dizen assi mismo, que los 4. maestros

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de que habla ese mismo propheta en el cap. 2. son el Messiah ben Dauid, el Messiah ben Ioseph, Eliahu propheta, y el Sumo sacerdote, que son todas las dignidades que an de hostentar su grandeza, en aquel siglo felice.

LV Y es de advertir, que unas vezes le llaman Messiah ben Ephraim, otras, Messiah ben Ioseph. Ben Ephraim, por que nacera de aquel tribo, y juntamente acaudillara los diez, que en razon del primer Rey Ierobohan, que fue deste Tribo, se intitulan en las divinias letras, con este nombre de Ephraim. Ben Ioseph, no solo en razon de su primer origen, mas por que Ioseph fue verdadero Tipus de la casa de Israel, en su prision, y ultima felicidad, y en estar tanto tiempo oculto a sus hermanos sin saberse nuevas del, como agora estan ocultos los diez tribos, los quales se llaman, presos, y subiran a grandeza, como subio Ioseph.

LVI Este pues Messiah ben Ioseph, es el que morira en aquella guerra de Gog y Magog, y despues sera resucita-

do para lograr su grandeza, no de Rey, mas de vix Rey, como Ioseph en Egito Por que el imperio de la casa de Israel como dize Hamos en el cap. 5. cayo (en tiempo de Ossea hijo de Ela, vltimo rey de los 10. tribos) y no añadira a aleuantarse virgen de Israel: por que sobre todos los 12. Tribus juntos, como dize Iehazkel c. 37, reynará el Messiah hijo de Dauid, su legitimo y primero señor, y con su muerte se desengañaran los diez Tribos, reconociendo la voluntad del Señor, que es, aya solamente vna cabeça, y principe, como dantes era.

§ XV

LVII Estos Tribos pues se yran recogiendo de todas las partes del mundo, a dos prouincias, Assyria, y Egipto, las mas proximas a la tierra Santa: y de alli bolaran a la patria. Destas dos provincias, haze mension el propheta Esayas en el capitulo 27, diziendo, Y sera en aquel dia sera tañido con Sophar grande, y vendran los perdidos, en tierra de Assiria, y los empuxados, en tierra

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ra de Egipto, y encorvarsean al Señor en monte de la santidad, en Ierusalaim, como se dixesse, del mismo modo que se suele tañer cornetas para juntar el exercito, assi se juntaran los perdidos que son los que estan por toda la Asia dilatados, en la prouincia de Assiria, y los empuxados, que estan en la America, por el mar Meditarraneo vendran a Alexandria de Egipto, como tambien los que estan en la Africa, en cuyo tiempo se ha de secar el rio Nilo, y partirse el Euphrates, como tengo dicho. Y por que de los que estan en la America, ha de empeçar el apañamiento y congregacion de los captiverios, dize Esahias, que a mi Islas esperaran y nauios de Tarsis (mar Oceano) en el principio, para traer tus hijos de lexos, su plata y su oro (de que grandemente abundan) con ellos, por nombre de .A. tu Dio &c. Despues destas dos provincias, bolaran con velocissima y prospera viage, a encorvarse al monte del Señor, a Ierusalaim, como dize Osseas tratando desta misma redenci-

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on, esmoversean como passara, de Egipto, y como paloma, de Assiria. phrase con que Esahias significa esta velocidad. Quien estos (dize) como nuve buelan, y como palomas, a sus nidos? Donde los que llegaren primero, tendran este particular contento, de ver hir llegando por momento otros. Alsa (dize el Propheta) alrededor tus ojos y ve, todos ellos fueron congregados a ti, vinieron a ti.

LVIII. Y por que estas dos provincias, Assiria, y Egipto, an de ser aquellas que benignamente recogeran en si el pueblo de Israel, y reconocer, primero la verdad, entrando de todas las naciones primeramente en el gremio, sacrificando y orando al Señor, diz eeste Propheta en el cap. 19, verso vltimo, que lo bendixo el Señor diciendo, bendito mi pueblo Egipto, y obra de mis manos, Assiria, y mi heredad, Israel. Y esta es la real, y verdadera inteligencia destos versos.

§. XVI.

LIX. Palabras son todas estas muy

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noble señor, de los santos Prophetas de todas las cuales consta la restauracion del pueblo de Israel, y reduccion a la patria. Saber agora, quando ha de ser esta restauracion, no fue a ninguno concedido, ni a R. Simhon ben Iohay, author del Zoar, se le reveló: por que este misterio reservó el Dio para si, como dize Moseh, *Decierto esto oculto comigo*, y Esahias cap 63. *Que dia de venganza en mi corazon, y año en que mi redencion vino*: donde los antigos sabios, ללבי גליתי למלאכי השרת לא גליתי *A mi corazon lo reuelé, mas a los Angeles, no. Y* en otro lugar, *si algun hombre te dixere, quando vendra el Messias, no lo creas*. Por que como dize el angel a Daniel, *cerradas y selladas las cosas hasta el tiempo del fin*. Por cuya causa, todos aquellos que pretendieron investigar este fin, como fueron R. Sehadiah, R. Moseh de Egipto, R. Moseh gerundense, R. Levi ben Gerson, R. Selomoh, R. Abraham Bar. R. Hiya, R. Abraham Zacuto, R. Mordechay Reato, y don Is-

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hak Abarbanel erraron: por que quisieron exceder la capacidad humana, y revelar aquello que el altissimo Señor, ocultó; y que aun al mismo Daniel, que entre tanta mudança de imperios, descubrio tambien este secreto, se lo dixo en forma que el proprio confessó, no le aver entendido. Y esto se significa segun nuestros sabios en aquella ם *Mem* cerrada del cap. 9 6. de Esaias, donde dize, למרבה המשרה *al multiplicante el señorio*, que siendo final, contra la regla universal, se haya aqui en medio de la dicion: por que deste señorio, y quinta Monarquia estara el tiempo oculto, hasta su venida.

LX. Esto solamente podemos afirmar, que ha de ser en el fin de los dias: y assi los prophetas, quando tratan deste siglo, dizen, באחרית הימים *en el fin de los dias*, y esto despues de largos trabajos, ya prolixa captividad. Assi lo predixo Bilham, *veolo y no agora, mirolo y no cercano, armosse la estrella de Iahacob &c.* Esaias, cap. 24. *y seran encer-*

encerrados en prision, y despues de muchos dias seran visitados. y en el cap. 49. 13, *y dixo Cion, dexome A. y. A. me olvidó. Oseas* en el cap. 3. *Muchos dias estaran hijos de Israel sin rey, y sin principe &c. y despues buscaran a. A. y a David su rey. Y* desta dilacion resultan aquellas tan repetidas quexas del real Psalmista en los Psalmos 44, 69, 74, 77, 83. y finalmente entre otros muchos lugares, aquel vehemente sentimiento, con palabras tan rigurosas que usa en el Psalmo 89. acabandole, *Recuerdate Señor del repudio de tus siervos, del soportar en mi seno la ignominia de tantos pueblos, que repudiaron tus enemigos. A. que repudiaron los passos de tu vngido*, diziende, si fuera manco, por buena razon uviera ya llegado.

§. XVII.

LXI. Pero avn que no podemos señalar puntualmente el tiempo de nuestra redencion, juzgamos que está muy cerca: por que vemos u-

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nas Prophecias ya del todo cumplidas, y que otras que sirven de preparacion para la misma redencion, se van en la misma conformidad cumpliendo. Consta esto, por que por el discurso deste prolixo captiverio, nos estan prophetizadas immensas calamidades debaxo de las cuatro Monarchias. David dize, *Señor, quando yo hablo para paz, ellos para guerra. Por ti somos martirizados cada dia somos contados como ovejas al degolladero.* Esahias en el cap. 53, *como carnero al degolladero es llevado, y como ovejas delante sus transquiladores.* O como se exprimentó bien esto en los desterros de Jnglaterra, Francia, y España, o como se echó de ver, ser el mayor crimen que contra si tenian, no las culpas que no avian cometido, mas lá hacienda que avian adquerido: y como se vio bien, ser todo guiado por divina providencia, quando pareciendo caso, llegauan los tiempos señalados de sus destierros, a cumplirse en aquel dia para el pueblo siempre infausto, de 9. del mez

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Ad, en que se abrasó el primero y segundo Templo, y dia en que sin causa, lloraron los exploradores

LXII. Pues que diremos, de aquel monstro horrendo de la jnquisicion de España? que tiranias no vsa cada dia, con los pobres inocentes, viejos, moços, y toda edad y sexo, quitandoles muchas veces la vida, por diminutos, y no acertar con el testigo. ó maldad increyble, y crueldad inhumana. Mas veasse, por que? por querer guardar la Ley de Moseh, dada con tantos portentos. Por esto son innumerables personas muertas, en todos los lugares donde se dilata su tiranico imperio, y dominio: y entre tantos se ven cada dia exemplos de grandissima constancia, para mayor confusion suya, dexandose abrasar vivos, por el santificamiento del nombre del Señor bendito.

LXIII Testigos son de lo que digo, muchos de los que aun oy viuen.

En el año de 1603. en mi patria Lixboa, fue quemado vivo frey Dio-

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go da Asunçao, fraile religioso, y doctissimo, de edad de 24 años, cuya sentencia y articulos que en la inquisicion sostentó, contra muchos (que por ser de nacimiento christiano, procuraron reduzirle,) tengo en mi poder. Assombró aquello el mundo, y los Jnquisidores arrependidos de publicar las conclusiones que mantenia, mandaron recoger la sentencia, pero fue tarde, que estava ya divulgada por todo el mundo.

LXIV. Que encomios avra juntamente que igualen a los meritos y Martirio de don Lope de Vera y Alarcon? Era noble, de casa illustre en España, doctissimo en las letras Hebreas, y Latinas. Abraça nuestra religion, y no contento consigo, comunica este bien a muchos, que el bien es tanto mayor, cuanto mas comunicado. Prendenle en Valladolid año 1644. y a los 20. suyos, breve edad para tan largo ingenio: pero alli entre aquella escuridad de la prision, empieça a dar luz a muchos. Grande

era

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era el concurso de los letrados, grande la aflicion de los padres, pero ni los genitores, ni las promessas de las vanas glorias, bastaron a moverle un punto de su proposito. Circuncidasse dentro a si mismo, hazaña milagrosa; llamasse Iehuda creyente, y desde aquel punto, no se firma mas de otro nombre. Llega el dia felice de su gloria a 25. de Iulho, y como otro Ishak, alacre, y con animo alegre e invensible, se ofrece al fuego, despreciando de 25. años, vida, hazienda, y honra, por aquella vida immortal, bienes estables, y fama sempiterna.

LXV. Pues si estos que no fueron de sangre Jsraelita, supieron a costa de sus vidas, grangearse gloria, y trocar esta por otra mejor vida, no menos zelo an tenido los nuestros. Muchos exemplos se an visto, y en nuestros dias, no es bien que quede en silencio su memoria. Ishak de Castro tartas, conocido nuestro, y harto inteligente en las letras Griegas y Latinas, no se por que furtuna, pas-

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sando daqui a Pernabuco, siendo alli captivo de los Portuguezes, fue lo mismo que cercado de lobos carniceros. Embianle a Lixboa, donde tiranicamente preso, de edad de 24. años, es quemado vivo, no por alguna traicion que hiciesse, que a ley de soldado, estava obligado a defender su plassa, como hazen los nuestros en aquella provincia, donde por su fidelidad, les encargan los mas importantes puestos; mas quien tal imaginara? por que dixo, que no queria creer, mas que en vn solo Dios, de Israel, que avia criado el cielo, y la tierra. A las mismas llamas se entregó en Lima en 23 de Enero, año 1639, Eli Nazareno, despues de 14 años de prision, en todos los quales, ni comio carne, ni quiso immundar su boca, aviendose el mismo circuncidado dentro, y dado este nombre. Y este año en Mexico, Thomas Terbiño, celebró con grande constancia su Martirio.

Pues si el Señor bendito cumplio

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su palabra en el mal, la cumplira sin duda en el bien: y por esto R. Aquiba, quando vio salir vn raposo del Templo destruydo, al mismo tiempo que sus compañeros empeçaron a llorar, el empeçó a reyr, diziendo, que de ver aquella prophecia de Ieremias, *raposas andaran por el*, cumplida, tomava indicacion, de que se cumplirian tambien los bienes que el Señor les avia prometido. Vemos pues, todas las maldiciones del Levitico y Deuteronomio, al pie de la letra cumplidas, tanto las de nuestro esparzimiento en los fines de la tierra que es, *Portugal;* como la de nuestras calamidades, padecidas por la Inquisicion, y en tantos destierros, como tengo mostrado en mi libro de *Termino vitæ*, siguesse que brevemente se empeçaron tambien a cumplir todas las que pronostican nuestros bienes: y que assi como llegó a effeto nuestra rohina, llegara la de Bosra Roma, del ca. 34, de Iesahias.

§. XVIII.

LXVI. Otra razon, y para nos-

otros

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otros de grande fundamento, es ver nuestra perseverancia entre tantos males, y assi juzgamos, que para grandes bienes nos tiene el Señor guardado. Moseh dize en el fin de las maldiciones. *Y tambien en su ser en tierra de sus enemigos, no los aborreci, ni desechè para acabarlos, para anular mi firmamento con ellos, que yo .A. su Dio.* Esto vemos cumplido: por que estando en captiverio, y con el oprobio de Iudios, llegan muchos de los nuestros a hazerse grande lugar entre Principes, y a ser dellos tratados com summa afficion. Y dexando aparte el opulento estado, que gozaron en España, Portugal y Jnglaterra, y las muchas riquezas que adquirieron en estos Reynos, los Señores Abarbaneles, daran testimonio desto, por la entrada, reputacion, y authoridad que conservaron en los palacios reales en España. En casa del señor Semuel Abarbanel, y la señora Benvenida, dignissima consorte suya, se crió en Napoles, doña Leonor de Toledo, hija de Don Pedro de

Toledo,

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Toledo, siendo alli Vixrey, y quando despues casó con el serenissimo Duque Cosmo de Medicis, y vino a ser gran duquesa de Toscana, la venerava siempre como madre. En quanta estimacion vivio entre varios Principes de Italia, Abraham Colorni, consta de aquella Epistola que le dirigió Thomas Garzoni, en la su Piazza vniversal del mondo. Vivieron por el consiguiente con gran reputacion diversas casatas debaxo del imperio de la casa Otomana. El señor Iahacob Aben Jaes fue Governador de Tebaryah. Los Benjaeses, Sosinos, Anacauas, y otros señores, an tenido siempre grande entrada con los grandes.

En Egipto fueron siempre Xaraf baxis, Iudios, que es poco menos que Governadores de todo aquel reyno, y oy lo es, el señor Abraham Alhulu. La vltima paz que establecio Sultan selim oy haze 75. años con los Venecianos, fue por medio del señor don Selomoh Rophe, que vino por Embaxador a Venecia, con la ma-

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yor pompa y acompañamiento que jamas se vido. Pues que grandeza se puede comparar a la que tuvo el señor don Ioseph Nassi, ha circa de 100. años, quien no sabe, que fue Duque de Naccia, señor de Milo, y de las siete islas. Del hace mension Famiano estrada, en el libro de bello Belgico. En Berberia los señores Rutes fueron siempre Xeques de Fes, y Taradante. En el año 609. en nuestros tiempos, el señor Semuel palaxe, fue embiado por Embaxador del rey Mullay sidan, a los señores Estados Generales: y falleciendo despues en la Aya, en el de 616. fue acompañado de su Excelencia el principe Mauricio, y toda la de mas nobleza. En el grande reyno de la Persia, fue a pocos años Vesir, el señor Elhazar. Vn hermano suyo llamado Iahacob huja, oy hace 34. años que vino a Halepo con 70 gamellos cargados de seda, y despues fue à Ierusalaim a hazer Aziara, y alli hizo muchas limosnas. Goza quasi la misma digni-

dad

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dad oy el señor Dauid Ian. Y estan en tanta estimacion, que aviendo en el año de 635, embiado el Serenissimo y celsissimo principe Friderico Duque de Holsatia &c. el Embaxador Hotto Bruchmano, con Epistolas recomendatorias, para que le introduxessen al Rey, si le fuesse necessario algun fauor, ellos con suma affición lo recibieron, y hizieron donatinos, respondiendo al Principe, firmandose en la carta doze, con titulo de *Huja*, que entre ellos, es lo mismo, que *Señores*. Las copias destas cartas, me comunicó el muy docto señor, doctor Binyamin Musaphia. Pero lo que mas admira, es ver, que aun en la India, han dilatado sus Colonias, donde Dureto en el Thesoro de las lenguas que escrivio en Frances, hoja 302. dize, que tienen en el Rey de Cochin grandisimo fautor. Ioan Hugues Linschot en el capitulo. 44. del libro que escrivio de la India Oriental, dize, que tienen sus Synagogas, y que algunos

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eran admetidos en el consejo del Rey. Tuvo por el consiguiente en Praga, Mordochay Maizel, las armas del Emperador Mathias, y fue criado por el cavallero: y de la misma dignidad, gozó despues Jahacob Bat seba, en tiempo del Emperador Ferdinando: y otras muchissimas casas, gozaron de inestimables favores: por que a un en este captiverio, quien tal imaginara, crecen en tantas facultades, que con ellas se grangean plassa entre los mejores, providencia particular divina.

LXVII. Pues que dire de aquellos que por las letras vinieron a montar, y hazerse reputados. Muchos an sido, Medico de Saladino rey de Egipto, fue el grande R. Mosseh bar Maymon. De Sultan Bayasit, Mosseh Amon, de la serenissima Reyna Medicea de Francia, Elias Montalto, dignissimo consejero suyo. Lehia Philosophia, Elias Cretenses en Padova, y R. Abraham de Balmas, la gramatica Hebrea. Fue muy estimado en

Roma

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Roma, Elias Gramatico, y David de Pomis, del Papa Sixto .v. al qual dedicó su obra.

Pico Mirandulano, maestros tuvo Hebreos, confessando ser de estrecha capacidad, contenerse solamente en las cosas de su propria familia: y avn otros muchos, vemos cada dia que con intimo desseo, se informan de todas nuestras cosas, y aprenden de los nuestros las sciencias Hebreas, de que carecen. Luego bien se ve, que no nos ha dexado el Señor, ni desamparado, antes si de vnos somos perseguidos, de otros que mejor entienden, somos favorecidos y honrados. Y jamas les ha faltado (como prophetizo Jahacob) al pueblo de Israel, vn baculo y arrimo en sus adversidades: por que quando un principe les agravia, otro los favorece: quando uno les echa de sus tierras, otros les combidan con las suyas, con mil prerogativas, como hizieron diversos principes de Italia; el serenissimo Rey de Dania; y agora al presente

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su Alteza el Duque de Saboya, como aquellos que por largas experiencias conocen, que todas las tierras donde habitan Israelitas, florecen luego en negoceos, y son grandemente aumentadas.

LXVIII Finalmente, Moseh dize en el vltimo canto, que el Señor ha de vengar la sangre de su pueblo derramado, y por Jeremias, capitulo 2. *Santidad Israel a .A. principio de su renuevo, todos sus comientes seran culpados, mal vendra a ellos, dicho de .A.* Esto se ha bien exprimentado, desde Nebuchadnesar hasta el tiempo presente. Que estabilidad tuvieron las Monarchias dessos grandes monarchas? veasse despues la infelix muerte de Antiocho, de Pompeo, de Sisibuto, de Phelipe Rey de Francia, de Alonso hijo de don Ioan segundo, y como a la quarta generacion, recibieron su pena, quando el rey don Sebastian, con toda la flor del Reyno, perecio en aquella batalla de Africa, en aquel mismo Alcaçar donde mandó echar a

los

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los aflitos Hebreos: y aun a otros Reynos castigó Dios con pestilencias, e imemensas calamidades. Grandes perseguidores fueron nuestros, Fernando y Izabella. Veasse el fin que tuvieron, ella muriendo como murio, el perseguido de su yerno, y de sus mismos vasallos. El hijo unico que tuvo, desposado de 17. años, enel primero de sus bodas, malogrado, sin quedarle generacion: la hija en que librava las esperanças de sucession, la que heredó el reyno, y el odio, pues no quiso casar con el rey Himanuel, sin que nos desterrasse, o forçasse a su religion, de parto murio en Saragoça: y el hijo que deste parto nacio, en que tenian puesto sus esperanças los del reyno de Castilla, Aragon, y Portugal, de 18. meses, murio. conque se extinguio de todo la sucession Española, por linea masculina. Llegan a Mantua los Españoles en nuestros tiempos, quien ignora, las tiranias que con los nuestros vsaron? Quien no tiene noticia del

Auto

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Auto hecho en Madrid, el año. 32. asistido de los Reyes y Infantes: veasse el castigo, en Carlos muerto el mismo mes, y como esta Monarchia empeçó a declinar por la posta. Pero todo esto mas largamente se vera, en mi historia, y continuacion dè Flauio Iosepho, hasta nuestros tiempos, si el Soberano Señor, nos diere vida, y tiempo para acabarla. Concluyamos agora pues este punto, diziendo, que pues todo lo que los santos prophetas an hasta agora prophetizado, en nuestro fauor y daño, se tiene al literal cumplido, devemos estar con grandissimo aplauso, esperando por horas, el bien futuro, y todo quanto el Señor nos tiene prometido: por que la *palabra de nuestro Dio, se afirmara para siempre.*

§. XIX

LXIX Hazese tambien provable la brevedad de nuestra Redencion, por

la

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la promessa que el Señor tiene hecha de congregar los dos Tribos, Iehuda y Binyamin, de las quatro partes de la tierra, llamandoles נפוצים *esparzidos*, donde se sigue que para tener esto cumplimiento, se an de esparzir primero en todas las 4. partes del mundo, como dize Daniel en el cap. 12. וככלות נפץ יד עם קדש *y como acabarse de esparzir el lugar del pueblo santo, se compliran todas estas*. Y esto se ha agora cumplido, despues que en la America, se an instruido Synagògas.

LXX Iuntemos a esto otro pensamiento, deste mismo Propheta, donde en el citado capitulo dize, que llegandose el fin, discurriran muchos, y se multiplicara el saber, por que entonces se entenderan mejor las prophecias, de las quales difficilmente se alcança la verdadera inteligencia, sino despues de cumplidas, o a lo menos quando se va con los sucessos alcansando mejor, lo mas oculto dellas, como despues del imperio de la casa Oto-

mana

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mana, acertamos mejor la explicacion de las dos piernas de la Estatua de Nebuchadnesar derribada por la quinta y temporal Monarchia. Y de aqui resulta el nuevo desseo de inquirir la verdad. Y assi despues que el propheta Irmiahu en el cap. 30. por orden va tratando la restituicion de Israel y Ieuda a la patria; la guerra de *Gog y* Magog, de cuyo trabajo sera salvo Iahacob, (de que trata tambien *Daniel* cap. 12) el ceptro del Messiah ben David; la destruicion de las gentes, *la* redificacion de Iudea, de la sacra ciudad de Ierusalaim, y del tercero Templo de Iehazkel, dize vltimamente, *No se tornara el furor de la yra del Señor, hasta su hazer, y hasta su affirmar los pensamientos de su corazon, en el fin de los dias, entendereys en ella.* id est, en esta prophecía. Vesse luego que quando fueren muchos discurriendo destas cosas como oy, es señal que se va el tiempo acercando. Y por que en este capitulo, haze Jrmiahu un compendio de todo lo futuro, se dize en el principio del, que

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que el Señor mandó a Irmiahu, escriuiesse todas aquellas palabras en libro, haciendo por esta via mayor la prophecia, y exortando a la inteligencia della, como aquella, que por un estilo muy claro y breuissimo, dize todo lo que está contenido en todos los de mas Prophetas. A la imitacion de Moseh, cuyas ultimas palabras, de aquel vltimo Cantico suyo del Deut. capi. 32. fueron. *Cantad gentes a su pueblo que sangre de sus siervos vengará &c.* y las vltimas que habló despues de auer dado la bendicion a los Tribos, con que dio fin a la vida, fueron, (ibidem, c. 33) *Bien aventurado de ti Israel, quien como tu, pueblo saluo en .A. escudo de tu ayuda, y espada de tu lozania, y desmintirsean tus enemigos a ti, y tu sobre sus altares pisaras.* Donde se colige, que algunos pondran su esperança en negarse de enemigos: por que assi como segun dize Ioel capitulo 4, No perdonará el Señor la sangre de Israel vertida; assi seran saluos con ellos, aquellos que se negaren de enemigos, y les obligaren con su-

benignidad, y beneficios. Porque estos son los arboles del campo, que se alegraran en aquel tiempo y bateran las palmas: promessa que el Señor hizo al Patriarcha Abraham, quando le dixo, *Y bendiziré tus bendizientes, y tus mal dizientes, maldiziré.*

§ XX.

LXXI De todo lo dicho se infieren las conclusiones siguientes.

I Que las Indias Occidentales, fueron antiguamente habitadas de parte de los diez Tribus, que desde la Tartaria passaron por el Estrecho de Anian, o de la China, y que aun oy uiven ocultos por diuina prouidencia, en las partes incognitas de la dicha America.

II Que los Tribus no estan solamente en un lugar, mas en diversos: pues vemos que los Prophetas predizen su restituycion a la patria de varias regiones, y particularmente Esayas los coloca en ocho.

III Que estos no voluieron en el segundo

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gundo Templo.

IV Que aun oy se conseruan en su religion Iudaica.

V. que es fuerça, se cumplan las Prophecias, de su reduccion a la patria.

VI Que de todas las partes donde estan, se vendran recogiendo a dos Provincias, *Assiria*, y *Egipto*, facilitandoles el Señor los caminos, haziendolos amenos, y abundantes en todo, como dize Esayas en el cap. 49, y destas dos, bolaran a Ierusalem, como paxaras a sus nidos.

VII Que no tendran como de antes Reyno separado de Ieuda, mas se uniran todos los doze Tribus debaxo de un principe, que es el Messiah hijo de Dauid, y nunca mas seran expulsos de sus tierras.

CONCLVSION DE LA OBRA.

LXXII Boluiendo agora pues, nobilissimo y doctissimo señor a la relacion de nuestro Montezinos, no hallo en

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todos los escriptores cosa mas provable, que la suya, ni mas llegada a la razon? por que supuesto que ultra los referidos authores, Guillielmo Postelo, Goropio, *apud Hortelio*, Bozio *de signis Eccles. libro* 2. *capitulo* 3. Marino *in arca Noe*, el padre Sá *in* 3. *Regum*. Pomario, *in lexic.* y Poseuino, *libro* 2. *Bibliotheca. c.* 5, deduzen el nombre de *Pirú* de *Ophir;* a la verdad, como bien observó Pineda *in Iob capitulo* 28, *pag*. 500, es muy ligera conjectura la affinidad destos vocablos. Ademas que los Indios del Pirú, jamas oyeron en su tierra este apellido, y como nos relata el Inga Garcilasso de la Vega, auiendo llegado los Españoles, a la costa de aquel Reyno, y hallando a caso pescando un Indio, preguntando le por señas, que tierra era aquella? sospechando, que le preguntauan por su nombre, respondio, *Beru:* y de aqui corrupto el nombre, engañados con la respuesta, pusieron a aquella region, *Pirú.* Por lo qual es mas verisimil que *Ophir*, (como tiene Iosepho *libro* 8. *de Antiguidades*

capitulo

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capitulo 6. 1, y el p. Acosta *lib.* 14 *hist. Indi.*) sea la India Oriental; de donde trahia la flota de Selomoh el oro, y mas cosas preciosas, como auemos assentado.

Lo de la Isla Atlantica de Platon en el Timeo, aun que Gomara 1. *p. hist. Ind. fol.* 120, y Zarate *in prohemio hist. Pirú*, sienten, que desta Isla tan famosa, y decantada de Cricias, se passaron a las de Barlouento, qne estauan cerca della, antes que se hundiese, y destas, a tierra firme de America; y de aqui al Pirú, y nueua España, Acosta *lib*, 1. *hist. Ind. capitulo* 22, se rie desto, y tiene por fabula lo de esta Isla: y Marcilio ficino, *in com. sup. Tim. capitulo* 4. *et sup. Criciam*, para saluar la authoridad de Platon, con el parecer de sus mismos discipulos, Porphirio, Origines, y Proclo, considerando la poca verissimilitud desta historia, dize, que todo aquello de Cricias, y del siguiente Dialogo de la Isla Atlantica, se ha de entender por alegoria. Donde se ve, la poca provabilidad desta sentencia.

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Pues que estos sean Chenahaneos, huydos del poder de Ieosua, como siente Lescarbotus, consta menos: por que no se da, que por tan immensos mares, y para tierras incognitas, ayan intentado fuga. Vltra de que estos no habitaron cerca del Oceano Atlantico.

Que sean de Noruvegua, o España, en nada les parecen en la lengua, ni costumbres.

Que sean Israelitas, que ayan perdido sus ritos y cerimonias, claro está ser falso: por que los Iudios (Como admirablemente prueva el doctor Ioan huarte, en el libro *Examen de ingeneos*, *capitulo* 14,) fueron la gente mas dispuesta, de buen rostro, y lindo entendimiento del mundo: como pues estos pueden ser los Indios, que carecen de todo esto: feos de cuerpo, y de rudo entendimiento? Y como se puede dar, que perdiessen de todo su propria lengua, y los caracteres Hebraicos; Y sobre todo la religion, que fuera de la patria, se guarda con mayor cuydado, como

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como avemos mostrado.

Seanos pues licito, introduzir la opinion de nuestro Montezinos, como mas prouable: por que del mismo modo que los Britanos antiguamente, por los Saxones que les hizieron guerra, fueron constringidos a recogerse a las montañas en Cambria: assi aviendo los Israelitas poblado primeramente la America passando de Tartaria por el estrecho de Annian, como auemos dicho, los de la India Oriental, o mas provablemente, y en que mas me afirmo, los mismos Tartaros por el mismo camino, ya dellos conocido, les siguieron, y hizieron guerra: con que les fue necessario retirarse detras de las cordilleras: donde por permission diuina boluieron de nueuo, siendo por estos descubiertos, a ocultarse, y perderse la memoria dellos. Y esta es la opinion que tiene mas aparencia de verdad, que todas las de mas precedentes: por que en los Americanos no se hallan las artes de los Indios, Chinos, o Catayos, mas al con-

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trario una crassa ignorancia de todas las artes y letras: Idolatras, y de tan barbaras costumbres, que en todo se parecen a los antigos rudos y barbarissimos Tartaros.

Y quien sabe, si la America fue por la parte Septentrional antiguamente continente con la Asya.

Yo a lo menos no tendria por absurdo, dezir, que los hijos de Israel passaron de la gran Tartaria por tierra a la America: por que estos dos reynos estan muy conjuntos, como se puede uer en el globo terrestre de Pedro plancio, Henrico Alangren, y Blavio: y que el Señor bendito, entre otros milagros que hizo con ellos, fue este vno dellos, que despues abrio aquel estrecho que llaman de Annian, para que alli quedassen mas separados y ocultos de las gentes. Pero quando no queramos dar milagro, podiasse abrir a caso este estrecho, tragando la mar aquel pedaço de tierra, como ha hecho otras vezes, a infinitas tierras por diluvios, terremotos, y temblores

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blores. Xenophonte en sus Equivocos, haze mension de la inundacion de las tierras de Egipto, en tiempo de Hercules y Prometheo. Beroso, *lib.* 5. y Diodoro *libro* 6, del diluvio de Atica, donde está Athenas. Plinio *lib.* 2, *cap.* 85. *y lib.* 13. *cap.* 11. Strabon *lib.* 1. *y lib.* 12. y Plutarcho *in Alexá* de la inundacion de la Isla Pharaonica; de la qual habla tambien Lucano, *lib. ultimo.*

Pues por temblores de tierra, quien ignora quantas ciudades se an en diversos tiempos destruido y assolado? Suetonio *in Tiber, cap.* 48. escrive, que en tiempo de Tiberio, doze ciudades se arroynaron en Asya. Lo mismo testifica Orosio *lib.* 7. *cap.* 4. y Dion, *lib.* 57. puesto que defieren en el tiempo. Tacito *lib.* 14. y Eusebio *in Chron* cuentan, la destruicion de aquella famosa y opulenta ciudad de Laudicea. Origenes *Tomo 28. in Ioan.* y Baronio *in tomo* 2. *año* 340, nos relatan otros varios terremotos, causa de la desolacion y royna de infinitos pueblos y ciudades. Pero lo que mas admira,

fue

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fue la prodigiosa historia de nuestros tiempos. Refiere fray Alonso Venero en su Manual de los tiempos.

A 26. de Iunio (dize) *del año* 1638. *començo a temblar la tierra en las Islas Terceras, señaladamente en la de san Miguel, a donde assiste el Gouernador. De manera, que en la concusion grande de los edificios, temblor del suelo, y el terror que causa este linage de calamidad a los mortales, desamparaban las casas, y salian a los campos, no teniendose aun en ellos por seguros. Poco despues se vio a dos leguas de la misma Isla, dentro de la mar, en mas de 160. braças de profundidad, vomitar immensa materia de fuego, sacudido el peso infinito de las aguas, que tenia sobre si, con la violencia deste actiuo, y poderoso elemento, llenando de nuves, humo, confusion, y assombro, todo aquel Orizonte, leuantando al cielo tanta multitud de piedras embueltas en ceniza, con pedazos tan grandes desta impura materia, que auia algunas iguales a montes de immoderada grandeza. Los quales lebantaua la violencia del fuego, sobre las ondas mismas del mar, y voluiendo a caer*

parte

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parte resuelta en poluo, y parte condensada, y ponderosa, vino a formar un Isleo de legua y media de largo, y 60. braças de alto, donde auia ciento y cincuenta de profundidad. Penetro el caliente humor, que el Volcan despedia de si, los senos de las aguas, quemando dentro dellas, tanta cantidad de peces, que sacudidos despues a la ribera, podia llenar dos naos grandes de la India, que suelen ser de mas de. 2200. toneladas:

Esta isla dentro de dos años fue del mismo mar tragada. Aquel pues que considerare este escesso de naturaleza, no tendra por inconviniente conjecturar, que aquel estrecho fue algun tiempo continente. Salvasse con esto otra no pequeña duda, y es, que siendo que al mismo passo que despues del diluvio universal, volvio a renaçer toda la especie humana, de los hijos de Noah, sea fuerça reducir la propagacion de los animales a los que salieron de la arca, perguntasse, como, o por que manera, se passaron a la America tanta suerte de animales perfectos

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perfectos que se engendran por generacion, y no de la tierra. Dize Agustino, que algunos passaron a nado; o que alguno por codicia de la caça los llevó alla, o que fueron produzidos de la tierra, al modo de la primera criacion; pero todo esto es de poco fundamento. Por que no se da, que en el mar Oceano, se nade tan largo, y dilatado trecho: y quando para la caça se llevassen algunos, a que fin avian de llevar consigo, leones, tigres, zorras, y semejantes bestias, poniendose en tan evidente peligro? No es tan poco verisimil, que Dios criase aquellos animales perfectos, de la tierra; por que si esto fuera assi, no tenia para que recomendar a Noah, que metiesse en la arca, de todos los animales, para aviviguar y conservar la espeeie. Y assi que da mas probable nuestra opinion, de que por aquel camino se passaron los animales assi mismo a la America: visto que no ay razon en contra, ni argumento, que deshaga este pensa-

miento

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miento mio: sino es, que por otra parte, este nuevo orbe de Indias, está pegado, con el vejo mundo.

En lo demas que relata nuestro Leuita, o Montezinos, no veo algo de lo impossible: por que dezir la *Semah*, es una costumbre observada de los Israelitas, en todas las partes del mundo, y compendio de la confission y religion Iudaica. La declaracion de los *Mohanes*, o hechizeros, acuerda con lo que se dize en el 4. de Ezras, acerca de los milagros que Dios usó con los Israelitas, al passar del rio Euphrates. Las condiciones que les propusieron, de que se reuelaria aquel secreto, al que tuviesse 300. lunas, que es lo mismo que 25. años, edad competente, se conforma con lo que dize I. de Laet, que en muchas partes de la America Septentrional, cuentan los Indios sus edades por Lunas. Averse de revelar este secreto en el campo, es observacion, y aun costumbre Iudaica, que los antigos notaron en Iahacob, quando para la huyda de Laban, llamó sus

mugeres

mugeres al campo. De suerte que no tiene aquella Relacion, cosa alguna que impugne la razon.

Por todo lo qual, doy fin a este breue discurso, donde ha sido el intento solo acertar, no haziendo oposicion a alguno, mas antes candidamente, relatar qual sea nuestro parecer, y de los antigos sabios, sobre las diversas materias que apuntamos. Yo a lo menos espero que benignamente, sea recebido este nuestro trabajo, y con satisfacion lehido, principalmente de tantos nobles y doctos señores, que por sus Epistolas me obligaron, a que diesse mi parecer sobre aquella Relacion. Assi lo he hecho, con la breuedad possible, en numeros 72. conforme los 72. nombres del Señor.

Sea nombre de .A. bendito
de agora y hasta
siempre.

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NOTAS.

(a) *Thargum*, paráfrasis ó interpretacion libre de la Ley, Profetas y escritos santos, hecha en distintos tiempos y por diversas personas, con arreglo á la tradicion ó doctrina oral que recibieran los doctos, del gran Concilio Ierosolimitano, éstos de los Profetas, los Profetas de los Ancianos, los Ancianos de Josueh y éste de Moisés en el Sinaí. Estas paráfrasis son várias, con los nombres de *Onkelos*, *Thargum de Ionathan* y *Thargum Ierosolimitano;* el *Thargum Onkelos* es sobre el *Pentateuco*, y lo mismo el *Ierosolimitano*; en cuanto al de *Ionathan*, es una paráfrasis de los Profetas mayores y menores; hay otros *Thargum*, nombrados *de José* y *de los cinco volúmenes;* pero la de *Onkelos* es la más recomendable por la antigüedad y lenguaje, siguiéndoles en mérito el de *Ionathan.*

(b) *Memmio:* Cayo M. Gemelo, de una de las más antiguas familias de Roma, fué discípulo del poeta Lucrecio: para su educacion hizo éste su poema *De Rerum Natura*, á fin de con él formar el corazon del jóven, y de tal manera consiguió su objeto que el discípulo aventajó á su maestro como filósofo. Ligado en estrecha amistad con Ciceron, le dirigió tres cartas: una defendiendo el suicidio de Lucrecio y criticando el de Sócrates; otra sobre las preocupaciones de los

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pueblos, y en ésta ataca el pueblo judío de una manera terrible; y la tercera en que, hallando y defendiendo la unidad de Dios, envía á su amigo Ciceron el tratado que compuso sobre este asunto. Estas cartas de Memmio, asi como el tratado, no han sido traducidas aún al español, y sí sólo al ruso del ejemplar que existe en el Vaticano, y despues del ruso al frances.

Si las gestiones hechas por el autor de esta reimpresion cerca del Vaticano obtienen un éxito favorable, y puede con tal motivo poseer copia auténtica del Códice original, se dedicará á publicarlas, poniendo el texto latino al pié de la traduccion, para que los amantes de estos estudios puedan conocer estas notables cartas: en caso contrario, lo haría, bien á pesar suyo, publicando sólo la traduccion que tiene ya hecha del frances.

(c) *Parnasin:* tiene este nombre la reunion ó Congreso de los Príncipes, Jefes ó Magistrados que rigen la Santa Congregacion ó *Kahal Kadosch* de Israel' encargado de leer y explanar la Ley. Sabios talmudistas que poseen toda la doctrina consignada en el *Talmud* para la inteligencia de la Ley.

Estos por lo comun son Escribas, *Sophrin*, que se ocupan de las *Naschin*, ó Excelsos, que son magistrados, equivalentes á maestros, pontífices ú obispos, *Episcopoe*, y son los supremos inspectores de la Iglesia.

(d) *Kahal Kados:* Epíteto que dan los rabinos ó neo-hebreos á su Iglesia. Congregacion Santa que reparte su dia en las tres partes *Khephila*, oracion, *Thoral*, Ley, y *Mlacha*, ejercicio; santificando así todo el dia y santificando su Iglesia, por lo que lo llaman *Kahal Kadosch*, Iglesia Santa.

(e) *Talmud Tora*, libros de la familia, que contienen la explicacion de la Ley de los judíos. Estos libros son una especie de coleccion del derecho hebraico y explicacion de las obligaciones impuestas á esta nacion por la escritura, la tradicion, la autoridad de sus doc-

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tores, la costumbre ó por la supersticion. El *Talmua* contiene dos partes: la una llamada *Michna*, y la otra *Jemara*; y á ésta le llaman comunmente *Talmua* con el nombre de toda la obra. Hay *Talmud de Jerusalem*, y *Talmud de Babilonia*, por haberse compuesto en las escuelas de estas dos ciudades.

En el *Jemara*, que es la explicacion de los doctores, se hallan fábulas y consejas ridículas, y su estilo es frio y desaliñado, al contrario del *Mischna*, cuyo texto tiene mejor estilo y más solidez.

Tora llaman los judíos al libro que contiene los preceptos que les comunicó Moisés: con el mismo nombre significaban el tributo de capitacion que pagaban por familias. De aquí que la palabra *Talmud Tora* significa encargados de los libros de la Ley y del impuesto de capitacion.

(f) *Kehila* ó *Keilah* es la ciudad ó pueblo en que se reune la Congregacion Santa ó *Kahal Kadosch*. Por lo comun le dan los israelitas el título de *Nobilísima*.

(g) *Sebat*, ó *Eschabath*, mes del Calendario Siro-Macedónico, que corresponde á Febrero.

(h) *Ilul:* término del Calendario: segun algunos, duodécimo mes de los Siro-Caldeos.

(i) *Adonai:* uno de los nombres que daban los hebreos á Dios, y quiere decir *mi señor;* y aunque en el idioma hebreo es plural, se tomó, como otros muchos nombres é idiomas, en singular.

(j) *Almud*, medida de cosas sólidas, equivalente á nuestro celemin en unas provincias, y en otras á média fanega: aquí se toma por celemin.

(k) *Pataca* ó *Patacon* : lo mismo que peso duro, veinte reales de vellon: moneda de cobre que vale dos cuartos: aquí debe entenderse como moneda del valor de un duro.

(l) *Gado:* palabra portuguesa que significa *ganado*. La usa el autor como portugues de orígen.

(m) *Mohan*, *Jeque:* Sacerdote entre los judíos: (aquí se toma por hechicero).

(n) *x. Marta*, Santa Marta: sabida la repug-

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nancia de los judíos á aceptar los títulos de *San* y *Santo* de los cristianos, lo sustituyen en sus escrito con una *x*.

(o) *Sepher Thorah:* son los volúmenes ó rollos prolongados de pergamino en que están escritos los cinco libros de Moisés, que son *Génesis*, *Exodo*, *Levítico*, *Números* y *Deuteronomio*, ó sea la parte de los antiguos códices sagrados llamada *Thorah*. Estos rollos eran muy venerados, y para sacarlos del Sagrario ó depósito donde se guardaban en la Sinagoga tenían una procesion religiosa, despues de la cual el Rabbi ó Doctor leía ó entonaba el capítulo correspondiente, segun la santidad del dia y de la lectura.

(p) *Cabalá* ó *Cabbalah:* significa *tradicion* ó *recibir por tradicion*; esto es, el arte de interpretar la escritura, cuya interpretacion se llama *Cabalá artificial*, que es de tres maneras: la *Geométrica*, que explica las palabras por el valor aritmético de las letras; *Notaricum*, que consiste en tomar cada letra por diccion entera; y la tercera, llamada *Termira*, que consiste en mudar una palabra y las letras de que se compone. En este autor debe tomarse la palabra *Cabalá* en el sentido de perteneciente á las sectas de los judíos Rabinos y Talmudistas, que admiten el *Talmud* y tradiciones extraordinarias, segun el *Notaricum* dicho.

(q) *Sanhedrim* ó *Sinedrin:* Consejo supremo de los judíos. Este Consejo subsistía en Jerusalen en tiempo del Salvador: le había tambien en otras ciudades de Palestina: se componía el de Jerusalen de setenta ancianos, y los de las poblaciones inferiores de veintitres. En el Sinedrin se decidían los negocios de Estado y de Religion.

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ÍNDICE.

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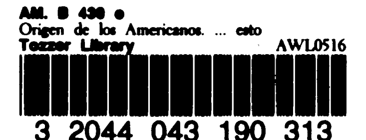
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WITH TEN PLATES

BY

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(PUBLICATION 2138)

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1913

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author has had occasion to recognize gratefully the kindly willing of scientific men and of scholars generally to extend a helping h He would especially mention the philological assistance of Mr. Dieserud and his patient oral translation of the writings of Dr. Na and others before their appearance in English; the helpful criti of my manuscript by Prof. Julius E. Olson; the explanation by late Dr. W J McGee of the observed progressive changes of along our seaboard by glacial recession and resultant contin crustal wave action—a theory since corroborated by other author —which affords a reasonably trustworthy conception of the Amer Atlantic coast line and its conditions about the year 1000 A. D., thus throws new light on the regions and special places intende the names in the saga; the efficient aid of Mr. James Mooney in G and Indian problems; and the sympathetic interest of Mr. D Hutcheson who has furnished a copious supply of data on the sub supplemented by some personal field-work near one possible Hó the Norsemen.

1.—THE NEW WORLD PRELUDE

Concerning the discovery of America before Columbus, t are many theories, fancies, and claims; but only two visits ca considered historic, namely, those of Leif Ericsson and Tho Karlsefni. The Wineland or Vinland of these explorers has so greatly misunderstood and has been made the basis of so n elaborate and contradictory explanation during the past three turies that only the hope of clearing matters a little by patient rese would perhaps justify one in adding to its volume. The import

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rated writings agree in ascribing priority of human life to the r hemisphere, though their reasons differ widely. Most anthro-gists believe that man first walked over to America;—from Eu- as Dr. Brinton[1] supposed, from Asia as many others have ned—but in either case the route was at one, if not both, of the northern corners of the continent. The crossing is indeed occa-lly made in winter at the present day on the ice at Bering its, as reported to Dr. Dall,[2] and in summer by boat almost at However, no traces have yet been discovered of such passage Iceland or any other possible stepping stone on the eastern [3] But even the earliest coming, however remote, must have been er late in the history of our race, an unarmored, ill-equipped off-ng of the tropics, which had a long way to travel by slow de-s. The immigration may have been in a small way and often ated. Whoever came first to America, however, or whence they e, or when, we have in the present inquiry to deal only with the mo and their southern neighbors. When Europeans finally lifted Atlantic curtain, the Eskimo were found as far south as the upper of Newfoundland; they clung to the sea-shore almost everywhere. elow these Innuit along the coast, and behind their southeastern in Labrador, as well as nearly everywhere throughout the erate parts of the continent, there were other uncivilized men

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G. Brinton: The American Race, (1901), p. 32.

. H. Dall: The Origin of the Innuit; in The Tribes of the Extreme hwest, p. 97.

R. Markham: Origin and Migrations of the Greenland Eskimo; in c Papers for Expedition of 1875, p. 166. See also W. H. Holmes: Some lems of the American Race. Amer. Anthrop., vol. 12, no. 2 (1910), p. 178

. Geike: Fragments of Earth Lore, p. 263.

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action and relations may have been until the first known distrib
of races and territory was established; and whether the trib
Saghalien and Kamchatka above referred to were left behind or
forced their way through the Eskimo and across the sea to
present seats,[3] are matters debatable which need not concern us
These Indians could not have been on the ground for a very
number of centuries or the population would have been dense
linguistic stocks more plentiful. In the immense area betwee
Arctic Ocean, the Rocky Mountains, the Gulf of Mexico, an
Atlantic there were barely a half dozen principal linguistic fam
—the Athapascan, Shoshonean, Algonquian, Siouan, Iroquoian
Muskogean. These people, however, had undergone varied ex
ences;[5] therefore they differed widely here and there: yet they
enough alike to give us the accepted ideal Indian of our co
These few vigorous groups have made nearly all of North Ame
history on the Indian side.

The long list of languages in North America, so often insiste
include some that appear to be but of minor flecks and patch
the western border of our linguistic map, resembling nothing so
as the debris of waves that had struck without force to pass on
of human fragments in the mountain nooks above the Isthmus.
all have their own abundant interest, but it does not concer

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[1] Other substitutes will hardly do. Red Indian, for example, has
Beothuk specifically. Even American Indian means Passamaquoddy, b
Micmac, on Grand Manan.

[2] C. H. Hawes: In the Uttermost East, p. 35. *Cf.* Geo. Kennan: Ten
in Siberia, p. 171. Also his Siberia and the Exile System vol. 2, p. 40
Mythology of the Koryak (Jochelson). Amer. Anthrop. (1904), vol. 6,

[3] A. F. Chamberlain: Origin of American Aborigines.—Linguistics.
Anthrop. (1912), vol. 14, p. 55.

[4] See map in Bulletin 30, pt. 1, Bureau of American Ethnology.

[5] See Notes to Chapter 16.

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ther part of that region was quite so bountifully supplied by re as Powhatan's domain near the Chesapeake, yet Strachey's[1] iture census, river by river and town by town, has a really ilous, though pathetic, look. The best recent estimate[2] gives iore than seventeen thousand Indian inhabitants to all Virginia it time, with 8,500 for the Powhatan Confederacy; and there e a thousand of mixed blood there now—Chickahominys, Nanse-s, Pamunkeys, Mattaponies and other remnants—hardly noticed l. The City of Washington, with its present population of oo, was prefigured by an important Indian town, which in an gency could muster eighty fighting men for the defense of the shad and herring fisheries to be found anywhere.

e League of the Five Nations (central New York) could hardly vo thousand men into the field; yet this active little force imposed on most of the settlements between Hudson Bay and Georgia etween New England and the Mississippi. Along Narragansett and slightly beyond, the density of population may have been what greater; but King Philip in his most formidable estate never assemble any imposing array. A few Englishmen sufficed orm and ruin the fortified chief towns of the Pequots and agansets, the most powerful tribes about them. The upper England coast was far more scantily peopled, as clearly appears the slightly earlier notes of Champlain.

have no trustworthy ground for assuming a substantially dif-t state of affairs for the year 1000 A. D. along the Atlantic coast, igh at that time there seems to have been a relatively large and

Strachey: The Historie of Travaile into Virginia, pp. 40 *et seq.*

Mooney: The Powhatan Confederacy. Amer. Anthrop. (1907), pp. 32.

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stocks are clearly beyond our field of vision. Mr. Lloyd[2] would the Iroquois also at the time we are considering too far away in northwest: but according to Dr. McGee's Chesapeake tidewater th they were much nearer.[3] Still, no one places them on or near the board in northern latitudes. The Sioux may have been in force a the eastern watershed of the Appalachian mountains, where we them later, apparently losing ground; but they probably never cro the Delaware. This narrows the field to the Eskimo, the Beothuk Algonquian tribes, and possible unknown predecessors, for the str of coast between Baffin-Land and the Chesapeake.

Below the Gulf of St. Lawrence we find this shore occupied in early seventeenth century, and apparently in the fifteenth and teenth, by different tribes of the Algonquian family, the Micma Souriquois extending farthest to the northeast as they do now. the island of Newfoundland[4] were the quite distinct and puzz Beothuk, doubtfully struggling to hold their ground against encroachments of the Eskimo on the north and of the Micmac on southwest.

There are some indications that these islanders had previo occupied parts of Maine and Nova Scotia. They appear with the of people in misfortune, clinging to their last refuge and sharing s characteristics of their oppressors on both sides. A fuller un standing of their earlier history might be helpful in the solutio divers northeastern problems in ethnology. But there seems t nothing to indicate that they ever established themselves far below

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[1] N. S. Shaler: Nature and Man in America, p. 81.

[2] Lloyd's notes in L. H. Morgan's "The League of the Iroquois," p. 188.

[3] W J McGee: The Siouan Indians, 15th Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p.

[4] D. G. Brinton: The American Race (1901), p. 67. *Cf.* Capt. Cartwr and his Journal. Repub. 1911. First 20 pages. (Ed. by C. W. Townse Also Whitbourne, Cormack and others hereinafter cited.

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s, and seals.

predecessors of the Algonquian tribes we have equally no data ; o we know when the latter first arrived on the Atlantic shore. investigators agree in placing their origin north of the St. ence River. They seem to be an ancient people. Very likely vorked down from that valley by way of the lesser rivers—the on, Connecticut, Housatonic, Kennebec, Penobscot, and St. John. seems to be nothing to make such a migration before 1000 at all improbable, though it might be incomplete.

e year 1000, however, for America, seems very far back in uity. Perhaps we hardly realize how much of what we consider nt was then yet in the future. The Mayas[2] no doubt were ished in some cities of the Usumacinta Valley and Honduras, h hardly anywhere in Yucatan; the Inca conquests may have , but can hardly have been pressed very far; the Aztecs perhaps not yet even heard of the Valley of Mexico. Since there is so to be learned about the origin of these higher cultures, it is wonder that we are in the dark or twilight as to ruder tribes, have left neither records nor monuments. It is not probable ve have even a pictograph on the Atlantic coast which has en- for nine hundred years, and if one could be found it would per- represent no more than some passing caprice of the Indian mind. om this point of view we can only say that Algonquian tribes in possession as far back as we know and that the burden of must be on those who suggest any others—*a fortiori,* the milder en of presenting at least some modicum of evidence tending to either predecessors or temporary displacement and supplanting.

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e Eskimo Language, p. 20.

orley: The Correlation of Maya and Christian Chronology. Amer. Journn. ol. (1910), p. 193.

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features of certain minor northwestern littoral tribes,[6] and peculiarities of the language of others, apparently Polynes in the architecture and sculpture of ancient Mayan cities, for exa the Chinese or Cambodian-like figures of Copan,[7] and in the e ordinary similarity of the whole series of the signs of the Z in Greece and Babylon, Mexico and Peru.[8]

The eastern gates also have their indirect evidences of approa a variety of forms which are mutually confirmatory and of niable cumulative importance, though not yet amounting to full Thus, in Humboldt's Examen Critique,[9] we find a few instanc widely separated periods, of strange men and boats arriving, a ently from the west, on the outlying European islands. He visited these places, and close investigation of these tales at so time was impossible; but he seems to have given them some c No doubt they lend a slight degree of support to the sailor sto the Zeno narrative, the Phenician legend of Diodorus quoted i

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[1] Examen Critique, vol. 5; in considering the Voyage of Madoc.

[2] The Discovery of America, vol. 1, pp. 181–185.

[3] O. F. Cook in Amer. Anthrop., 1909, p. 486.

[4] Justin Winsor: Narr. and Crit. Hist. of America, vol. 1, p. 82, note.

[5] H. H. Bancroft: Races of the Pacific States, vol. 1, p. 225. *Cf.* Dall: Tribes of the Extreme Northwest, p. 237.

[6] C. Hill-Tout: Oceanic Origin of, etc. Trans. Royal Soc. Can., Sec. 2, (1898).

[7] Thomas and McGee: Pre-historic North America, p. 256 (vol. 19 Hist. of America). Also Stephens: Central America, Chiapas and Yu (see Catherwood's views), and The American Egypt, by Arnold and pp. 213 and 269.

[8] S. Hagar: Origin American Aborigines. Astronomy, read Dec. 27, 1 symposium of Amer. Ass'n Adv. Sci., Amer. Anthrop.

[9] Vol. 2, p. 259. *Cf.* James Wallace: A Description of the Isles of O pp. 33, 34.

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it of their frequency in later years along a part of our coast.
d that frequency be less when both vessels and skippers were
ut compasses or charts, and in every way poorly equipped to
or overcome their dangers? D'Avezac[2] relates, in passing, two
early instances recorded of wrecks on the Canaries and the
s—a French vessel of about the year 1336 and a Greek craft in
For that matter, disabled ships have been known to wander
the Atlantic month after month in recent years, reaching in
ssion widely separated regions; and, if left to themselves,
have stranded finally almost anywhere.

e map of the Atlantic Ocean itself suggests that very early
ngs were much more than possible; exhibiting as it does a
like narrowing between South America and Africa, and an-
at the far north, where the Faroe Islands, Iceland, and Green-
nake convenient stepping stones. Moreover, warm, alluring
s are scattered out before Morocco and the Iberian peninsula
lely that the farthest is about halfway between Cadiz and Cape
Even from the tip of Brittany, the southwest of Ireland, or
asque provinces of northwestern Spain, that corner of New-
land was not inordinately far. There were also favorable
currents at some points, the most notable of which swept then,
v, southward along the outer front of the Azores, Madeira, and
naries; then in a wide curve moved westward to the Caribbean,
g there another stream from the lower African coast. The
is natural crossing routes above indicated were the main
ays of early accidents like those above mentioned, often merely
lary, but historical in the cases of Leif and Cabral.

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dfall of Leif, p. 4.

coveries of the Middle Ages, p. 32. Much more recently a small vessel.
one Canary Island for another, was blown off and afterward found
er crew well over toward South America. Also a fishing crew of the
undland banks was similarly driven to the Azores.

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voyages more extensive than crossing the Atlantic, and there m
have been many such in far earlier times, or islands as remote
Hawaii and Easter would not have been peopled by them. W
must we suppose that there were no navigators on the Atlantic s
of America who were able to emulate the dusky adventurers of
Pacific?

We must remember that the Mediterranean civilization had an o
post at Cadiz from about 1100 B. C., directly facing America; th
like all Phenician towns, it was probably even then a center of ma
time curiosity and enterprise, and, at any rate, had grown into
wealthy and far-reaching commercial city when visited five hund
years later; and that in the middle of the twelfth century, after a lo
period of Mahometan rule just ended, it was still important enou
to make Edrisi greatly exaggerate on his map the size of its penins
making this an island, and giving it a name when most other isla
of the sea went nameless.

We know that Phenicia, Egypt, Greece, and Rome were someh
aware, or dreamed, of lands beyond the great water; and that th
fascinating suggestions were useful long afterward in helping
inspire Prince Henry and Toscanelli, Columbus, and Cabot. It wo
be a pleasure to find their enduring charm rooted in real knowled
as it well may have been; but modern works on Atlantis—for the m
part valueless—add nothing trustworthy to Plato's memorable rep
of legendary echoes; and we must feel that this story, and oth
like it, may have arisen from some vision, as unreal as the wh
surviving phantom city which a Central American padre saw from
mountain top so vividly that he made Stephens[3] believe in it a
with several picturesque romances by Haggard, Westall, and oth
for a much later result. Yet this is not the only and inevitable exp

[1] Nature and Man in America, p. 189.
[2] In Northern Mists, vol. 1, pp. 37, 40, 48, 242, 248.
[3] Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan, p. 195. Also J. L. Stephens: Tra
in Yucatan, pp. 191 and 202.

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ern of St. Michael's,[1] of the middle Azores, an inscription is said
iave been found by early explorers, which has been commonly
posed to be Phenician because identified as Hebrew, a closely
d script and tongue, by a " Moor, the son of a Jew," who was
i the party, but could not, or at least did not translate it. The tale
rom Thevet, cosmographer of Henry III, who says that he
ed these islands long afterward. Remembering divers American
ienician inscriptions," called so before Norsemen were put for-
d as our chief inscribers, one desires at least a better expert
ion, and a more generally trusted transmitter than Thevet.

he knowledge of these islands kept on through the centuries in an
rmittent, glimmering way. The ancient Irish legends of explora-
have much to say of islands to the southward which, in part,
t be the Azores, if real, and in particular of islands notable for
r fine sheep, their singing birds, or their dangerous monsters.
n the Moors, conquering Africa and the Iberian peninsula, soon
e to the front as navigators, and we find again the Isle of Sheep,
Isle of Birds, and the Isle of the Dragon in Edrisi's Atlantic
es, distinct from the Canaries which he had described already.
thermore, his twelfth century map shows a string of islands
tching northward from below Gibraltar parallel to the western
e of Europe, sadly out of place for accurate geography, but in
arrangement fairly paralleled by the fifteenth century map of
n da Napoli, who gives us the names of Corvo and the other
res. The chain of record seems reasonably complete, and early
s, even to that mid-Atlantic island and its companion, Conigi or
es, must have been rather numerous. Who can believe that such
ors would all pause there with the vision in their souls of other
ids equally probable, equally delightful out beyond?

Iumboldt: Examen Critique, vol. 2, p. 240.

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way home.

Humboldt[2] supposed that their farthest point may have been on of the Cape Verde group. Other inquirers think it more to th northward. The story gives the prince of that island an Arabi interpreter and makes him declare through this mouthpiece that hi royal father had sailed forty days beyond it without finding land after which he promptly shipped his visitors to Africa. But we d not know Edrisi's authority for what these wanderers related. Givin it full face value, however, there is nothing to indicate that the crossed the ocean.

The same is equally true of the Genoese brothers[3] Vivaldi wh according to old chronicles of their city, "undertook" about 128 in the very spirit of Columbus "a new and untried voyage, that t India by way of the West." This has been taken to import a voyag around the Cape of Good Hope, and possibly may mean nothin more, yet the words are memorable. Besides, the fourteenth centur maps, long antedating the Portuguese discoveries, give Italian name almost exclusively to the Azores, which would lie well out of the wa of the course supposed. Either these adventurous men or others o their country must have ranged widely eastward and northeastwar with close quartering of the sea. One is tempted to think that the can not have been so very far from the Newfoundland banks or th Bermudas in some of their outward sweeps; for they found an named all the more eastwardly islands that are known, as well as tw or more dubious ones with Irish or Arabic names over which men sti puzzle and wrangle. For the Irish were ever before the Arabs in the explorations—how far we cannot guess, the voyages of the Celt having begun far back beyond the twilight of history. Perhaps th

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[1] Edrisi: Geography, Jaubert's transl., vol. 2, p. 27. Their voyage is brief related also in Examen Critique, vol. 2.

[2] Examen Critique, vol. 2, p. 237.

[3] M. D'Avezac: Discoveries of the Middle Ages, p. 23. Also Humbold Examen Critique, vol. 2, p. 234.

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nurian conquest of Ireland and Iceland related by Geoffrey Monmouth, that most romantic and romancing of literary bishops who in this instance has found a believer to some extent in even the eran investigator Rev. B. F. De Costa, for the latter says: "The edition of Arthur to Iceland may be regarded as historic."[3] One be pardoned for regarding this deliverance itself with some aston- nent. As to the origin of these medieval extravagances in that m, it is pleasant to find one's independent conjecture anticipated confirmed by a suggestion of Sir John Rhys[4] published long ago.

here is a most interesting sequence of Irish sea-tales better worthy ur consideration. First, the Voyage of Bran, even as a composi- , apparently dates well back into early heathen times. Dr. mer[5] credits parts of it to the seventh century, but they include uite irrelevant prophecy, made by a sea-god in person, which rance, though itself archaic in subject matter, is evidently an addi- to an original simple story. This nucleus may well be very ient indeed.

ran the son of Febal, we are told, having been summoned by ysterious and lovely feminine being, sailed over the ocean to the of Joy, where everyone laughed without ceasing. One of Bran's went ashore, and forthwith took to laughing also. His comrades ld get no answer from him, so sailed on and let him be. At the t island a lovely enchantress threw a ball of magic yarn to Bran; ch hit the mark and held, so that she drew him and all of them ore. She kept them with her and her fair companions for a as it seemed, but really it was many years. At last one of the v was taken with a great longing for home; so Bran carried back to Ireland. But when the man stepped ashore, he fell to

V. F. Skene: The Four Ancient Books of Wales, vol. 1, p. 264.
Rhys: Introduction to Malory's King Arthur, p. 224.
. F. DeCosta: Arctic Exploration. Amer. Geogr. Soc. Bull. 1880, p. 163.
Rhys: The Arthurian Legend, (1890), pp. 10, 11.
lfred Nutt: The Voyage of Bran.

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considered in a valuable work by Mr. Nutt,[1] but we can get nearer than this to the origin of its germ.

The Voyage of Maelduin[2] inherits from the Voyage of Bran a borrows from many quarters, even one of St. Brandan's shipma being among its later acquisitions. Every successive editor and larger of the story seems to have felt bound to outdo his predecesso Its wonders are manifold: ants as large as colts; a supernatural and its palace; a horse-monster with blue claws; a holy anchoret c only in his white miraculous hair; a wicked monastery cook maroo in a little private hell on a barren rock for having played the thief a served uneatable food to his brethren. All told, this Voyage Maelduin is hardly convincing, except as to the possibilities Irish fancy unrestrained; which compares ill with the dramatic g epic power, and graphic quality of Icelandic narration. Howev it passes along the tradition of lovely tropical islands in distant se

St. Brandan the Navigator was real, the abbot of a Kerry m astery near the end of the sixth century. His experiences are su in twelfth century Latin verse and told in early Gaelic prose, well as in the fine English translation printed by Wynken de Wor successor to Caxton—not contemporary testimony, to be sure, probably reliable as to the main fact and general course of Atlantic journeying, with more or less of the details.

Humboldt thought St. Brandan may have gone northward, visit the Orkneys; but he seems to be wrong, for the narrative ha southern cast. A writer in the Celtic Review,[3] Mr. Dominick D at first argued for the Bahamas—making the saint forestall Colum —with an ingenious marshaling of winds and current, and ot data not all quite so tenable. But he seems to have been converte Teneriffe and her island sisterhood by Markham's translation

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[1] Alfred Nutt: The Voyage of Bran.
[2] Joyce: The Voyage of Maelduin.
[3] The Celtic Review, vol. I, p. 139.

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a rather difficult order. According to some accounts the Breton Malo went with him, the lost Mernoc being a Breton too. Afterd St. Malo had a voyage of his own, at least in literature, along lar lines.

he ship of Brandan, like that of Maelduin, was hide-covered a wooden framework, the hide being in three layers, one inside, outside; and there were other coincidences as to the embarkaand the number of sailor-monks. Furthermore, two of the crew foredoomed in each case. But propriety was now strictly rved. No magic yarn-balls caught the saint; he was not fished by any kind of Circe or Calypso. The reasons are not given. y once a faint semblance of peril may seem to threaten, in his to an island monastery of some easy order, where angels lighted tapers and served meals for the brethren, exciting only a rent astonishment in the pious guest. Very humanely and ningly, though, he warns off the tormenting swarms of devils n hapless Judas, bidding them let the poor creature have that one it in peace. And about the loveliest fantasy in literature is that ne divinely singing birds, who were really unlucky angels, doomed to serve God in this delightful way, " because our sins had been little. Then all the birds began to sing evensong, so that it was eavenly noise to hear."

he legend was a liberal dealer in matters of myth, borrowing lending. Under one of these heads and as proof of Irish-Arab rchanges already alluded to, either direct or through others, we t rank the island-monster, which punished the building of a fire on mistake, and the roc-like bird that began life again after the nner of the phoenix. Only, this was by immersion in a Pool of th, which passed on to later times, prompting, it may be (with

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he Celtic Review, 1909, p. 273.

. De Roo: History of America before Columbus.

. Cantwell: Pre-Columbian Discoveries of America. Mag. West. History, 13, p. 141.

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A visit to a neighboring region, seemingly continental, is also relat
whence the explorers carried away " fruit and gems." Now Afr
having both, is not very far away. Even more apt and explicit are
accounts of volcanic phenomenon; for example: " They saw a
all one fire and the fire stood on each side of the hill like a wall,
burning." Such a picture might have been photographed wit
four or five years among the Canary Islands, and has many ti
been repeated during the march of centuries.

No doubt there are many islands having volcanoes, but not amo
the Bahamas. One might find some difficulty in discovering she
cliffs, active volcanoes, fruit, tropical weather, good pastura
and an earthly paradise, all nearly together; but at any rate it mus
conceded that no part of the world within reach of the saint, exc
the " Fortunate Isles " or their neighbors could probably supply
combination.

Espinosa relates traditions of the few surviving Guanches, conce
ing an early evangelist supposed to be an apostle (as in so many ot
instances); thirty people who landed long ago at Icod, " the gather
place of the sons of the great one," and the finding, before the Sp
iards came, of a miraculous image, inscribed with uninterpre
assemblages of Latin letters; also a curious quotation from an unid
tified calendar, which relates the sojourn in those islands of St. Br
dan and St. Malo for seven years. The latter, it tells us, performed
ecclesiastical experiment in resuscitating the dead and damned, the
by learning uncomfortable things about " Hell "—and permitted
patient to die again (and finally) " in the time of the Empe
Justinian." The statuette (of the Madonna and child) above refer
to, or a later substitute as some say, is still borne in religious p
cessions about the island of Teneriffe; and withholds obstinately
message of its cryptic characters. Until these cipher writings s
have been read to some purpose, they obviously can not help to
tablish any connection with St. Brandan. Mr. Daly thinks the s

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onfident of their visit to those islands a thousand years earlier.

3.—THE MYTHICAL ISLANDS OF THE ATLANTIC

The only place where one can still see St. Brandan is on Pizigani's ıap[1] of 1367, bestowing his benediction, in medieval portraiture, n his "Fortunate Islands," thus named collectively in the map-le- end, but individually as Ysola Caporizzia, Ysola Canaria, and Ysole ouer Sommart. Possibly they were borrowed from Dulcert 1339 f Genoa, who calls the first-named island Capraria and the last 'rimaria.[2] The site of the latter is identical in both maps and approx- nately occupied by a cluster of rocks in a more modern one. Som- ıart (somma) is, however, more likely to indicate the peak of Pico; nd the plural form Ysole may convey a sense of its less lofty Azorian ompanions. Whatever the explanation of this item, the cartographer f the Atlante Mediceo or Gaddiano map (1351) thought best to mit it; as does also the Catalan map of 1375. They substituted, how- ver, for Caporizzia, Legname or d'Legname (Markland, forest-land) ecause of the great woods "de haute futaie" (D'Avezac)[3] with 'hich the early visitors found it covered, also the companion island ecomes Porto Santo, as now, and Las Desertas have already taken ieir name as Insulæ Desertæ. Zuan da Napoli, whose map—that is, ie Venetian one uncertainly attributed to him—is given by Kohl pproximately the date 14— (perhaps of 1440 or later) translates egname into Madera, its Portuguese equivalent, which, with a ttle change in spelling, still remains. It seems pretty clear that Iadeira is the original Markland of Atlantic voyagers; also that and its neighbor, Porto Santo, with or without some lesser com-

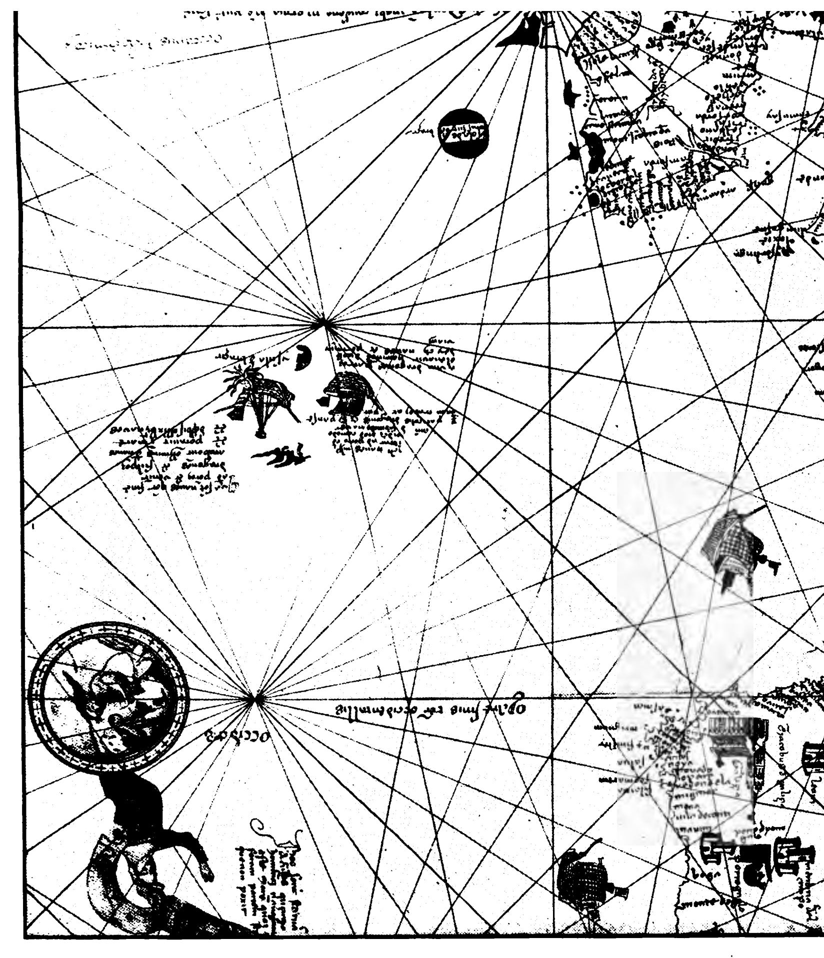
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[1] Kohl's collection of maps in Library of Congress. Also Jomard's Atlas.

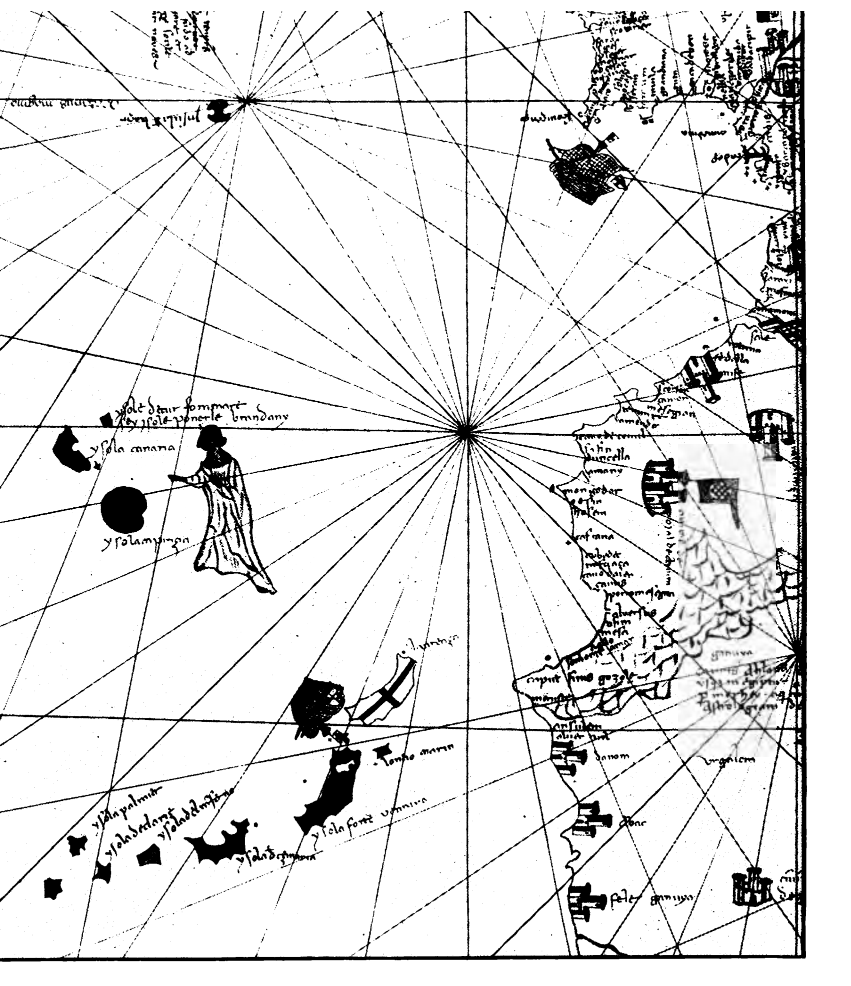
[2] Nordenskjold's Periplus, pl. 8, also K. Kretschmer: The Discovery of merica (Die Entdeckung Amerikas), Atlas, Tafel 1, pl. 2. Benincasa 1482 ıd others also show the Madeira group as three islands; but consider Las esertas one of them, omitting Primaria or Sommart.

[3] Marie D'Avezac: Discoveries of the Middle Ages, pp. 7, 8. The best repro- ıction is in Fischer's Sammlung. There is also a good one in Benzley's The awn of Modern Geography and an incomplete *facsimile* in Nordenskjold's eriplus.

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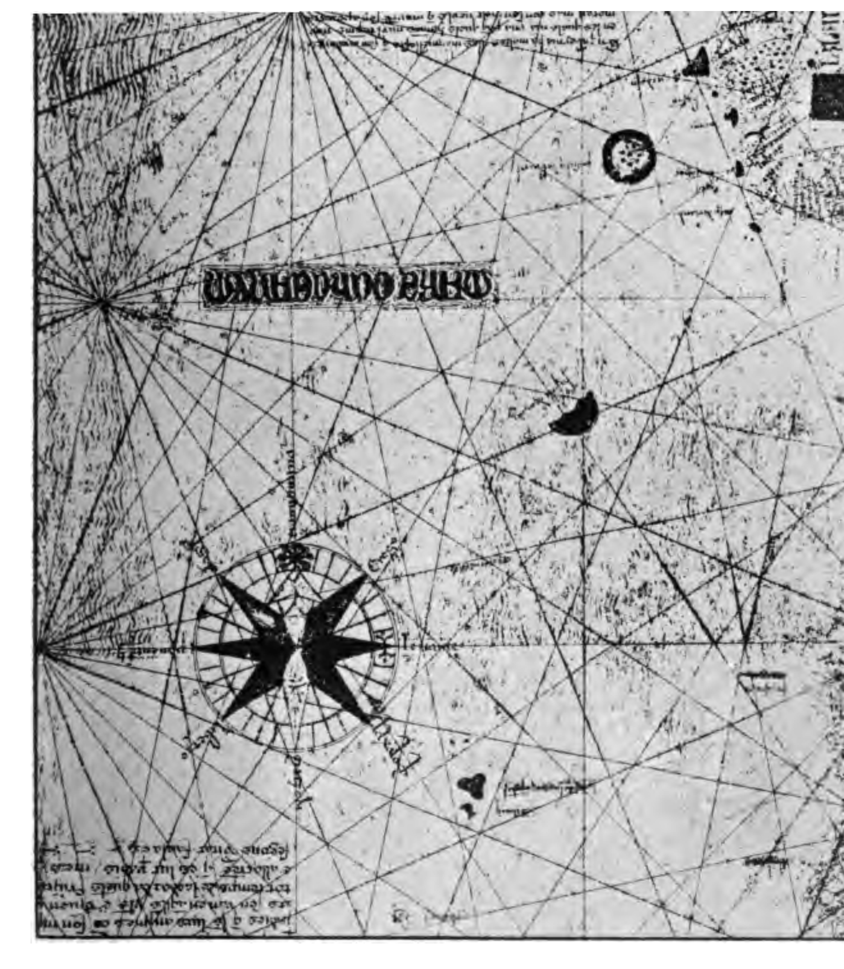


PART OF MAP OF THE PIZIGANI BROTHERS, 1 67 (FROM JOMARD), ATLANTIC ISLANDS, UPPEI
Showing Brazil west of south of Ireland; also Brazir (Man) with ship, dragon, and krak



F MAP OF THE PIZIGANI BROTHERS 1367 (FROM JOMARD), ATLANTIC ISLANDS, LOWER PART
owing angel warning against westward travel; also St. Brandan kneeling by his islands
(This plate partly overlaps plate 1)

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PART OF CATALAN MAP OF 1375

Showing the Island of Brazil west of the south of Ireland. Man and Corvo (with Flores as II successively below. Brazil is annular, enclosing water and islets

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OF MAP OF BATTISTA BECCARIA (BECHARIUS) 1435, UPPER PART OF THE ATLANTIC ISLANDS
Showing Brazil, Man, Corvo, and Flores

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years before. Mayda (Asmayda) is even more persistent, for I fi it in the old and proper latitude, opposite northern France, on a rel map, copyrighted in the United States in 1906.

As map-makers have generally followed explorers, with only little toning down and conjectural improvement, we may saf take every additional island of the map as representing at le one voyage or the report of one. We know how the very dubic disclosures of the Zeni and the indubitable discoveries of the fifteer century got into geography, though the former have since melt away. Also we can see how the medieval cartographers built i item by item, a true island-showing for the eastern side of the Atlan so that even the 1351 map already cited,[1] has not only all the Canari but all their names, as now in use, with the single exception Teneriffe. The islands which have not held their place in maps of t best authority are almost all islands out of place and duplicat like the Island of St. Brandan, or bits of some more extended a more distant coast line similarly misunderstood. Thus the Sunk Land of Bus, named after one of Frobisher's ships [2] and long a d quiet to the mariner, since it could never be found again, is n generally recognized as a part of Greenland, which appeared u expectedly before him when he was somehow off his reckonir Several other and better known " mythical islands " are inadequat accounted for by any theory which does not cross the Atlantic.

In form and direction Antillia and Brazil are quite as constant the Canaries, and more so than the Azores, of the early maps; whi may show conviction arising from some previous precise narrati Antillia, at its first appearance, is a large, elongated, rectangul quadrilateral island with four indentations in its eastern side, three its western side, each in two or three lobes, also a greater one at southern end, all carefully delineated as if by survey; and it so r mains, on nearly all the pre-Columbian maps. Sometimes this fo

[1] M. D'Avezac: Discoveries of the Middle Ages, p. 42.

[2] Or possibly after one of his officers.

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dragon" and that even the much later Olaus Magnus[2] decorates e issue of his history with a pictured saurian having a serpent's l, in the act of dragging a sailor from a ship's deck to its lair on me rocky Atlantic shore. Evidently huge reptiles of the lizard nd were associated in human minds for five or six centuries with e perils of westward navigation. This of course may mean no more an a play of fancy about memories of crocodile-haunted African vers; though it may also conceivably record impressions left by far estern islands where similar forms were at least equally common. Avezac,[3] reviewing the matter of etymology in 1845, dissented from umboldt's hypothesis; which does not seem to have been taken up alously by any advocate, notwithstanding the very great eminence its author. Perhaps it has been regarded as ingenious, rather than rfectly reliable, for the transformation of Altin into Antillia is not equately explained.

A more plausible conjecture, probably the most nearly convincing e thus far offered, makes up the name in Portuguese from Ante or nti (before or opposite) and ilha Island. On some maps the latter ord regularly becomes illa—for example that attributed to Zuan Napoli,[4] already mentioned. By either spelling, the pronunciation full would presumably be Anteillia or Antiilia, readily compressed Antillia, after the manner of all languages when two similar vowels me together. Obviously this derivation has the advantage of simicity and the case as to meaning is equally good. Divers early maps -as Battista Beccaria (Becharius) 1435, Bianco 1436, Pareto[5] 1455, oselli 1468, Bertran 1489, and Benincasa, 1482—show Antillia,

[1] Jomard: Atlas, Plate 11', Pizigani Map of 1367. An obscure Latin inscripon on it contains, however, the word Atullae or Atillie, identified with ntillia by Kretschmer and others.

[2] J. Winsor: Narr. and Crit. Hist. of America. vol. 1, p. 74; Tillinghast's onograph.

[3] Les Iles Fantastiques, p. 27.

[4] Kohl's collection of maps in Library of Congress.

[5] K. Kretschmer: Die Entdeckung Amerikas, Atlas, Tafel 4.

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rendered The Island of the Hand of Satan, a name abbreviate Satanta by one much later geographer and even changed to St. A by another, both necessarily of but secondary authority in suc matter. Benincasa, however, reverts to the earlier name Salvagi Saluagio of Beccaria, changing it slightly to Saluaga. Presum: in both cases the "u" should have the value of "v," as was com usage then and long afterward.

This Beccaria[1] (Becharius), was the first delineator, so far as know, of this highly significant Antillian group of large far so western islands. He makes them four in number, including a r tively small, but considerable island, north of Salvagio marked Mar-Sea Island (or Islands), literally "in sea"—and Reylla (K Island or Royal Island), bearing, in area, form, and position, appr mately the same relation to Antillia that Jamaica bears to Cuba.[2] also applies to the whole group the conspicuous legend Newly ported Islands—Insulle a Novo Repte., which recalls the note acc panying Antillia on Behaim's globe of 1492, prepared while Colum was yet at sea on his first voyage, to the effect that a Spanish ve visited this island in 1414. Nordenskjold quotes also an anonym map of 1424 at Weimar, which Santorem has copied in his atlas, without Antillia by reason of incomplete westward extension; but present Weimar librarian considers this to be certainly the w (perhaps about 1481), of Freducci, a map-maker of the latter hal that century.[3] Another map by Freducci made after the ea

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[1] Studi Bibliografici e Biografici, containing papers of 1st and 2d Ita Geographical Congresses, with maps appended, plate 8.

[2] Roselli 1468 shows all four islands, though the outline of his Roill faint. The original map is in the collection of the Hispania Societ America, New York. Bertran, as reported by Kretschmer, gives it a diffe name.

[3] My photographic copy of the original, made in Weimar, shows the u half of Antillia with the name in full, the lower half of the island being off by the parchment border. Salvagio above it is in full outline of u form, but with only S legible.


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ich they bear to this day and that other contemporaries believed he
l reached the Antillia which Toscanelli recommended to him in
ance as a convenient stopping-place on the way to Asia. All
ngs considered, it appears that Nordenskjold had some solid
und of justification for classifying all the maps of Periplus which
tain Antillia, under the heading "Maps relating to the New
orld" (see note 1, p. 176).

Antillia and its consorts cannot be the Azores, which in each
tance are shown half way out to them or not much less, the
notest pair of the latter, Flores and Corvo being similarly situated
reality with regard to some points of the American shore. Fur-
rmore these Portuguese islands are in each instance represented of
ut the proper size, being indeed evidently well understood except
o the western inclination of the extended Azorean series. This is
strange in view of the amount of coming and going among them
hat time, Beccaria's earliest date being about sixty years after[1] the
ablishment of the Norman trading post Petit Dieppe on the African
st far below, followed by frequent voyages thereto while the
sque and Breton fisheries were carried on in a lively way in those
s. The Italians also had been up among them, leaving names for all
islands, and now the Portuguese were taking exploration and
onization earnestly in hand. But far beyond these Azores there
s obviously, in their settled belief, something very much greater,
ly defined as in front of Portugal, and the Azores, since it extended
n the parallel of Lisbon or higher, to about that of Gibraltar or a
e below. The Antillia of Beccaria and his successors may well be
her too far north. Discoverers, knowing nothing of the dip of the
hermal lines southward on the western side, would be likely to
ge by climate and productions, thus erring in the latitude; and it
easy to see how an opposite mass of land reported to resemble
rtugal in bulk, and conditions, might be conventionalized by the
p-makers into greater resemblance. A royal grant of 1486 even

Nordenskjold: Periplus, p. 115. *Cf.* M. D'Avezac: Discoveries of the
ddle Ages.

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Nansen's In Northern Mists condenses from Diodorus a tale alr mentioned, of a Phenician ship driven by tempests to a region opp Africa, which had both mountains and lowland tracts, and abou in the lavish gifts of nature. This description would fit the Indian region above mentioned, though hardly anything above the American side. However, it may equally well have been devel out of the reported facts of a traditional accidental visit to Mad Nordenskjold will not say as much for Brazil (the original as for Antillia, yet it has a case that cannot be ignored. The fo island of the map rarely, if ever, wanders into southern wa and is nearly always west or south of west of Limerick in the maps, at an apparent distance which is absurdly small. But the teenth and fifteenth century cartographers had a cautious hab minimizing distances, the perfectly well known Corvo, for exan being generally shown (with that name as Corvi Marini, C Marinis, or Corvo Marinis), very much nearer Spain than it sh be. The Piziganis (1367) show both, also Brazil in the usual and place besides the more southerly " Ysole Brazir " apparently to judge by its crescent form and location, though farther out usual and doubly puzzling by the approximate repetition of the u name and the use of the Italian plural where but one island is sh This part of the map shows a dentapod kraken dragging a sea from a ship, a dragon heart and an angel warning navigators with a frantic though obscure inscription denouncing the dange sailing westward.

The original circular Brazil, west of southern Ireland, is said s times to have been called " great," by the medieval Irish,[2] remin us of " Great Ireland," which was in the same quarter or near it it was believed to be of such promise and importance that nume expeditions were sent forth in search of it by the merchants of Br during the period between Botoner's failure in 1480 and Ca

[1] E. J. Payne: The Age of Discovery. Cambridge Modern History, vol. 1

[2] See note 2, p. 176.

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[v]oyaged a considerable distance that way.

There are certain features of this Brazil most naturally explained [by] imperfect delineations of that outjutting elbow of North America [wh]ich includes the Gulf of St. Lawrence, although no one seems to [ha]ve noticed what they indicate. Thus the Catalan atlas of 1375 [sh]ows Brazil not as a solid land, but as enclosing a sheet of water in [wh]ich several isles appear. Nordenskjold[1] says they are seven in [nu]mber, and reads them as derived from the legend of the Island of [th]e Seven Cities, giving no authority except his own fancy. But this [Br]azil is too far north for the Spanish story, which most likely had [to] do with one of the Azores or Madeira, being perhaps an exaggera[ti]on of some real migration of escape, such as would be nearly certain [to] occur at the height of the Moorish conquest. Besides, seven towns [do] not require an equal number of islands in a great lake or an inland [se]a. The Spaniards themselves felt no incongruity in hunting for [th]ose cities, in 1539-40, among the deserts and mesas of New Mexico.

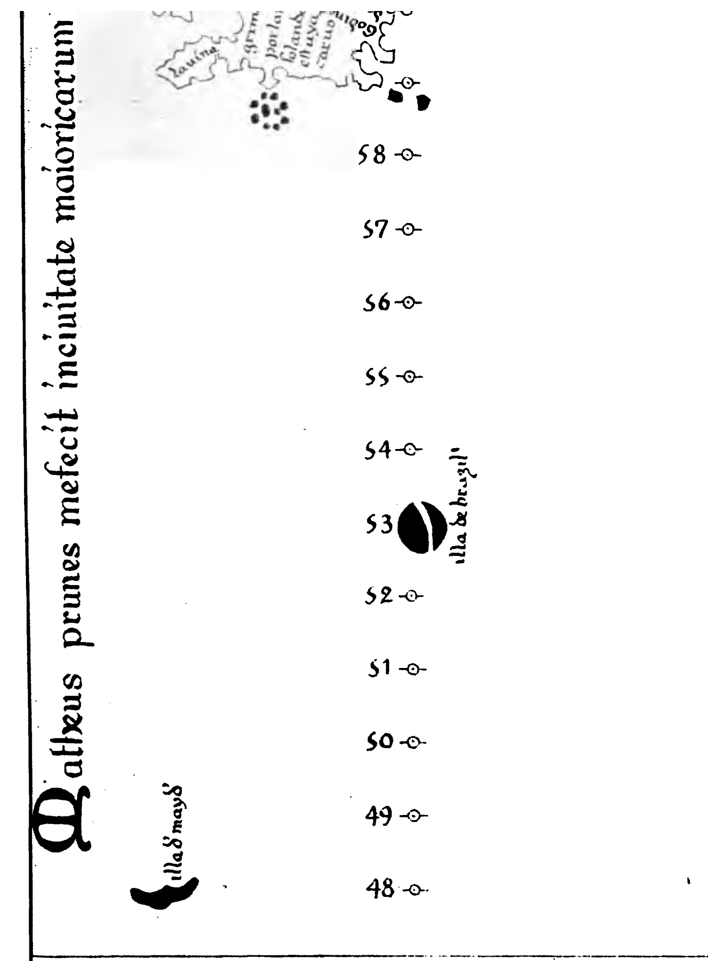
Again, several maps, for instance Prunes's[2] 1553 and Mercator's [15]95, show Brazil as divided into two islands by a passage or channel. [Fo]r this also we have a mythological explanation (by Dr. Nansen[3])— [na]mely the "river of death." But again the conjecture is quite [un]supported. Yet again, in several maps, Brazil has a space marked [on] it after a quaint early fashion of indicating mountainous regions [an]d other natural features, and this bears the inscription Montorius [or] Mont orious, apparently meaning at least, that a portion of Brazil [wa]s mountainous. But the map of Dalorto 1325 or 1330 gives its [na]me in full as Insula de montonis siue de brazile.[4] (See note 3, p. [2]6.)

If, now, we apply these several distinctive features to the region [rea]ched by Cabot, we find this outjutting corner of America sur[rou]nding the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which contains Prince Edward's [Isl]and and the Magdalen Islands, Brion Island and others. Its east-

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[1] Periplus, p. 164.
[2] K. Kretschmer: The Discovery of America, Atlas, Tafel 4. map 5.
[3] In Northern Mists, vol. 2, p. 228.
[4] *Ibid.*

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No. 5. Karte des Matheus Prunes, 1553. (Biblioteca Comunale zu Siena.

PART OF MAP OF MATHEUS PRUNES, 1553
From Kretschmer's Atlas of Die Entdeckung Amerikas
Showing Brazil divided by channel

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indentations of this outline presented by many maps may indicate memory of real bays and inlets, though fancy would be ample for su plying them. As to the mountains, there are considerable elevatic along these ocean-fronting regions, and they grow distinctly impr sive beyond the Bay of Fundy, still within the land-wall of the Lawrence Gulf.

We have, then, in a real region, and in only one, the seve peculiar features above stated, each offered also by a group of old ma —as though every observer had individually contributed what m particularly impressed each of them, and was most vividly reme bered: and there is nothing in geography or in the circumstances those times to make predecessors of Cabot, crossing as he cross impossible or very improbable. Indeed, that particular part of Am ica always held itself out conspicuously, tempting discovery. T coincidences may be nothing more; but the speculation has probal a sounder basis than any other advanced thus far concerning t very suggestive "island."

Some investigators, considering Brazil a reality of the past, ha explained it in another way, making it a lesser Atlantis of m gradual submergence, a veritable "sunken land," which went slov down, leaving no more to show for it now than the lonely, ba granite peak of Rockall, best described by Mr. Miller Christie The Scottish Geographical Magazine for 1898. He does not, hc ever, suggest its identity with Brazil. According to a globe wh he has found, there seems to have been a sand-bank visible (at le sometimes) on the spot three or four centuries ago; but nothing co have been there in the historical period to warrant belief in the gr Brazil; its crags must have been frequently in sight of those w sought the latter; and the situation must always have been too in ment. Porcupine Bank has also been presented in this connecti but with even less plausibility, being too near the Irish coast, ancient in its visibility, too much out of the right direction fr

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Spain of the 1367 Pizigani map, a mountain there still bearing the
: Brazil. A second island in that group was named the same
aps for like reason, any kind of red dye-wood being known as
il-wood; and there were other instances of such naming, the
: holding its ground sturdily even yet in eastern South America.
evident that from the middle of the fourteenth to the beginning
e sixteenth century, any region named Brazil would be expected
eld Brazil-wood or other vegetable dye, such as orchilla, in justifi-
n of its name. So it is not surprising that we should be bidden to
the derivation of the first Brazil in just such material for dyeing.
it here the clue fails; for the origin of the word itself is
to seek. The only tenable explanation thus far given makes
il a coalescence of two long obsolete Irish Gaelic words, breas
nce) and ail (noble—besides other meanings), Breas also having
in ancient use as the proper name of many chiefs and eminent
The Irish local name usually prefixes I, or Hy, meaning
ntry," and more particularly "island," from Inis, the Gaelic
valent of Insula, Isola, Ysola, or Ilha. It might not be safe to
late I. de Brazil as the Island of the Noble Prince or the Noble
Princely Island; but the general intention of extolling its merits
ndeniable, and, on the fifteenth century map of Fra Mauro we
find a Latin legend declaring it to be Berzil the fortunate island
e Irish. In all this there is certainly something more than admira-
of a salable commodity which might be gathered by the shipload
used for dyeing. Furthermore, nobody would have thought, in
beginning, of expecting such dye-woods or equivalent material
oximately in the latitude of Ireland. After centuries of associa-
between the name and the article, the case was very different
note 4, p. 176).

. D'Avezac: Discoveries of the Middle Ages, p. 35.

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graphers, who had borrowed an Irish word without knowing
Irish language. We find Brazir and Brazile as their pretty
guesses at the true name of the original island, besides the n
aberrant forms already mentioned, which were generally applie
the later and derivative Brazils nearer their own shores. T
Brazil-wood has nothing to do with the original naming; but
island name has everything to do, through another and names
island, with the naming of the widely sought and greatly coveted

From the middle of the fourteenth century, Brazil had usual
crescent-shaped consort on the maps called Man, Mon, or M
located farther to the southwest and about in the latitude of Britt
This has been sometimes identified with that similarly located
most persistent Asmaida, Mayda or Mayde which Humboldt thou
to be of Arabic naming and diabolical significance; and certainly
ing names in two languages need be no more surprising in this
stance than in that of Madeira, or Teneriffe, or Flores. Indeed,
with its distinctive form, appears in one old map as Joncele;
Mayda in a later one as Vlandoren, showing that navigators of
other tongues had taken their turns in reporting. It must furthe
said for Mayda that even in a mid-eighteenth century map it ret
the old station of Man southwest of Brazil; but, on the other han
is not usually of a distinctly crescent form.

Sometimes, too, Man has been identified with the island nortl
Antillia, the full name of which is understood to be La Man
Satanaxio; but this is most likely a case of mere verbal coincide
helped out by their share in a common evil repute, to which
Devil Rock, still appearing on some maps in this quarter, may
witness. But the existence of this rock is apparently dispro
as the United States Hydrographic Office informs me. At
rate, on the fifteenth century maps of Beccaria, Benincasa, and Bia

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[1] See Note 5, p. 176.

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assuredly is that one the most protean, elusive, and bewilder- of the whole "mythical island" display. It seems more readily eivable to suppose they have grown out of two or more glimpses ınd, at widely separated points and by men of different nations languages who sometimes used a syllable in common, though with rent meanings; and there is nothing in this to preclude those es from belonging to a single far extended line, continuous or en. A guess at Satanaxio has already been given. Similarly we say that if Brazil be the region about the Gulf of St. Lawrence, night possibly find Man in the Bermudas, though the indications oo faint to warrant more than a diffident suggestion (see note 6, 7).

eviewing the general field of these islands that for so long have ed their little jests with geography, it seems altogether likely before the acknowledged historical discoveries of the Antilles North America, there had been crossings and recrossings of the ntic at various times approximately along the routes of Columbus Cabot; possibly also on one or more intervening lines. The ie intimations which they gave in the figures and traditions of llia and Brazil undoubtedly spurred on both of these men; and ably one or more of them had, far earlier, through the related t Ireland and its legends, made certain the discovery of Mark- and Wineland by the Icelanders. But we have no surviving atives of these previous voyages which may be tested by their data atural history, ethnology, and coastline features as we test the ge-narrative of Thorfinn Karlsefni.

4.—THE PROBLEM OF GREAT IRELAND

e acquit St. Brandan of finding America, but the fact remains for probably more than five centuries men believed in a Great ınd far west of Ireland over sea.

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masters. But this would equally prove what was then the prev[...]
tradition.

We know that the early Irish Church was the lamp of fait[...] all the west; that St. Patrick's conquest of the island for C[...] aroused in it a wave of militant Christian emotion, becoming in [...] souls an eagerness to spread the gospel, in others a wild hunge[...] solitude, where life might be as nearly as possible an unbroken t[...] of religious ecstasy; and that these combined motives drove [...] shiploads of religious mariners out in all directions with most [...] doned recklessness. The Norse rovers were counted the har[...] and boldest men of all the world, but they could find no place v[...] these Irish had not been before them. It was so in the Orkney[...] the Faroes, and in Iceland—and their holy-isle off shore from [...] latter home is still named for them. A well-known passage o[...] Landnamabók records their withdrawal, apparently between [...] years 885 and 1000, leaving Irish books, bells, and croziers be[...] them. But that is not their earliest. Dicuil, the monastic Irish [...] grapher, mentions meeting, a hundred years before, one o[...] brethren who had been to Iceland; also there are items, of unce[...] value, in various quarters concerning an alleged Irish settleme[...] that island a century earlier still.

In view of what they really achieved, their known fearlessnes[...] very special impulsion, why should it be incredible that in one [...] more they should outstrip all others, reaching at some point the [...] land of America, though they might not be able to return, and [...] settlement must die out if reinforcements failed? If their suppla[...] in Iceland, the Norsemen, had not recorded the presence there of [...] ecclesiastical Irishmen it is likely that we should be debating it to[...] though it continued so long.

In the beginning of the Heimskringla [2]—"one of the great hi[...] books of the world," as Dr. Fiske has called it, in a portion recog[...]

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[1] See Dr. Brinton's early article in Historic Mag., vol. 9, p. 364 (1865), [...] tifying with Carolina by reason of Albinos.

[2] Laing's translation of Heimskringla, vol. 1, p. 216.


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that the references to it are historic in a way, for it is simply ssia. Dr. Storm[1] also observed this coincidence and added gna Graecia as another example; but somehow he remained of opinion that Great Ireland was a myth or a mistaken remembrance celand.

n old manuscript (codex 770 of the Arne Magnean collection), ted by Rafn's Antiquitates Americanæ, is fairly explicit as to lity:

ow there are, as is said, south from Greenland, which is inhabited, deserts, habited places and icebergs, then the Skrellings, then Markland, then eland the Good. Next, and farther behind, lies Albania, which is White-'s Land. Thither was sailing formerly from Ireland; there Irishmen and nders recognized Ari, the son of Mar and Katla of Reykjaness, of whom ing had been heard for a long time and who had been made a chief there he inhabitants.

his appears to have been prompted by the following brief narrative he Landnamabók of Ari the Wise (a descendant of the vanished) who died in 1148. His Islendingabók says the same, only tting the sources of information:

heir son was Ari. He was driven out of his course at sea to White-Men's d, which is called by some persons Ireland the Great. It lies Westward ne sea near Wineland the Good. It is said to be six doegrs sail west of and. Ari could not depart thence and was baptized there. The first unt of this was given by Rafn, who sailed to Limerick and remained for ng time at Limerick in Ireland.

ri the Wise adds that Thorkell Gellison, his own uncle, had heard same story from Earl Thorfinn of the Orkneys.

here is a parallel episode in the Eyrbyggja Saga (perhaps a gment of the lost saga of Biorn the Broadwickers' champion) ch has sometimes been thought a mere elaborated echo of the

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. Storm: Studies on the Vineland Voyages. Mémoires Société Royale des iquaires du Nord (1888), pp. 307–370; also separately 1889.

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that most people believe they went to Great Ireland. Vigfusso appears to accept this guarded statement as presenting a fact; Reeves[2] does not feel the identification at all certain; and doubtl it is not. As to internal evidence, Biorn was on horseback, bann were carried before him and his people spoke a language like Iri so wherever Gudleif went, if there be any truth in the details, it w not to America. We may most safely treat this story as adding data to the material in hand, but merely borrowing from the bet authenticated legend of Ari Marsson, in developing an edifyi sequel to a well known Icelandic romance of reckless and lawless lo

Taking the passages above quoted with the Sigurdr Stefánss map, hereafter more fully treated—which shows Helluland, Ma land and the upper part of Wineland, and bears traditional no of the latter's extension southward to the "wild sea" and to "fiord," separating it from the "America of the Spaniards"— might conjecture Great Ireland to be New Jersey, or the eastern sho of Maryland, or Virginia south of the Chesapeake, according to o choice among the "fiords." All are in the deep concavity of t coast line between Cape Cod and Cape Hatteras; all consequen lie below and behind the southern sea front of New England a Long Island. But precision can not really be insisted on; for Stefá son must have had very vague ideas of everything below Cape Bret or else his drawing would have been extended in that direction. T notes are perhaps by another hand, but if so represent equally w the national tradition. However, Beauvois's conjecture loca Great Ireland on the St. Lawrence. Others have located it in t Mississippi Valley, or some part of Ireland itself. Storm though a sort of reflection or adumbration of Iceland. But all non-Americ identifications of this region seem rather far-fetched.

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[1] Vigfusson and Powell: Origines Islandicæ, p. 23.

[2] A. M. Reeves: The Finding of Wineland the Good. Final Notes.

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Now this is the city obviously linked with the Island of Brazil
e implication of the earliest fourteenth century maps.

it it is not in Limerick sailors' yarns, however possible, nor in
llel nomenclature, however significant, nor in obvious infer-
popular belief and geographical statements or representations
ng no assured basis, to establish an important fact of history.
must feel that Irish monks, blinded to everything beyond their
rbing purpose, may very well have been here before any Norse-
; but it seems at present beyond proving.

t there is no warrant for treating Great Ireland as assuredly
al, and reasoning therefrom by analogy against Wineland. The
lity to prove is a different thing from conclusive disproval;
ve are so far from the latter that the preponderance of probability
the other way. Great Ireland, White Men's Land, or Albania
nply an asserted region like the Island of Brazil, believed in for a
time by many people likely to have some inkling of the truth, but
h, unlike Brazil, did not find its way into maps drawn by men of
iern Europe. Great Ireland and Brazil Island may well be near
ibors, or overlapping names for parts of the same coast. But at
ent we should hold the matter in abeyance for further light.

5.—THE COLONIZATION OF GREENLAND

oward the end of the tenth century various things combined
ring the Icelanders to America. The insular stepping stones
from Europe had grown more familiar than remote districts of
own island; the habit of voyaging in every direction but one
e that exception an anomaly which could not last. Furthermore,
aggressive missionary spirit of Christianity was rising and
ning forth, especially from Norway. Iceland thus far had held
nominally, in a spirit of conservatism, for Odin and his wife
the tremendous warlike Thunder; but King Olaf[1] was urging his
doctrines, with appeals to commercial advantage and menaces of

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[1] eimskringla. Laing's transl., vol. I, pp. 427, 445.

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land to the Christian faith, as well as the incidental discove
America by a newly converted missionary sea-captain, a s
Eric, sailing out to the latter country with the message of Chris
King Olaf.

Turning back a very little from this, the Iceland of the yea
and thereabout was in the very flood-tide of population and ho
ness, even afflicted with an excess of strenuous enterprise and u
promising self-assertion, which made every neighborhood f
eager to fight for its sentiments at a word, every man painfully
cerned in distinguishing himself and his steel sword on o
every member of a family bound to avenge any wrong or slig
its least appendage or take vengeance indefinitely for some retal
perfectly warranted by their own code.

The last word is significant, for the thing itself was rarel
sight of. The distorted and bloody law-abiding spirit of the Icel
has been often commented on as almost unique in history. H
inherited a common law, and so venerated it that he sent an
early in the island history to Norway for more perfect enlig
ment. This man brought back a slightly modified code. It c
the popular fancy wonderfully and became a great factor in
daily lives, though its precepts and the decisions under them fo
most part were carried in memory only. A singularly artificial s
of pleading and practice grew up, every one being a stickle
exactness of procedure and treating legal formulas as of
magical efficacy—witness the effective but unintended decla
of truce which the adroit Snorri the Priest, in the Saga o
Heathslayings, entraps a conceited memorizer into declaiming, b
the latter knew that his most deadly enemy was beside him.

Most of the sagas are indeed almost as much the histori
litigation as of private war. The two things went together. Du
was fully recognized and relied on as one means of settling dispu
even at first, of acquiring and holding other men's wives and
erty; while the blood feud seems to have had a semi-legal s
gradually losing ground in theory but remaining popular, so

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that he might live.

ic does not come into view as an aggressor. He had left Norway his father, as the best way to escape a feud. In his first Iceland the beginning of tragedy was a landslide or avalanche that some damage to a neighbor's land, whereupon this neighbor the blame on two slaves of Eric—probably Britons or Gaels— killed them incontinently. Eric flared up in fury and killed the r. This brought about the usual turbulent "lawsuit," and was exiled from the district; making his new home on Oxney -island) in the great southwestern Broadfirth.

t he did not keep out of trouble. A friend borrowed from him r of heraldic door-posts, used occasionally, too, as ship's figure- s—or possibly picture-carven sections of those partitions, often ngly ornamented, that made up the box-bed enclosures in which nodern separate sleeping rooms find perhaps their origin. They valuable at any rate, and the borrower prized them no less than so refrained from returning them as desired. In the end red- ed Eric went to the false friend's house with a party and took away. There was a rally of the affronted household; pursuit, d in hand; a small battle in the highway, in which Eric cut a man or two—thereby winning distinction as a brisk champion, o be imposed upon, but also unlimited persecution and disaster. e had made good and eminent friends in that neighborhood, one Thorbiorn, chief of Vifilsdale, son of Vifil, one of Queen Aud's in men, of whom she had said that he would be distinguished where, with land or without it. Also, Thorbiorn, through his tiful daughter Gudrid, was to be grandfather to the first-born e American: so there were notable issues hanging on the door- s of contention and on Eric's honest impulsiveness for good or However, they overrode him and he was driven to hide in out- islands and inconvenient places, while his enemies hunted ently to find and slay him.

hen our fugitive called to mind a ninety-year-old story of an nown land over the western sea and determined to seek refuge

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quite suddenly, into the unknown.

For three years he was lost to the world,[2] three years devot an exploration so careful and thorough that, according to R Danish Greenland (a " fascinating book " as Fiske has rightly c it) hardly anything has remained for later search unless in absolutely ice-clad interior, the remote north or the nearly inacce east. Nansen also—and there can be no better authority—rank achievements as an explorer among the very greatest. Pa through the narrow water gates—hidden altogether from the ey Davis late in the sixteenth century—which break at interval Coast of Desolation, he followed deep and branching fiords an interrupted belt of verdure and flowers, of low trees and sh and plentiful berries, of tumbling cascades and far off gla glimpses; and this he called Greenland, choosing it for the hea his main settlement. Another area, somewhat like it, about two dred and fifty miles up the shore, was penetrated and chosen becoming the site of the lesser western settlement. The subse centuries have disclosed no improvement upon these, and he s to have acquainted himself equally with the less valuable or u savage regions which he passed by. There is no doubt that he rea Davis Strait, very likely passing up beyond Disco, soon after well known as Bear Island (Biarney). He may well have stoo far enough from shore to see the other side. When the work

[1] For their disappearance see note on Ruysch's (1507) map of the Lelewel's Atlas. Also Voyages of the Cabots and Cortereals by H. P. B p. 60; also Major's Works; but Nansen dissents, believing they were Greenland coast.

[2] "This happened five hundred years before the rediscovery of Amer Columbus and Cabot. I think this Norse exploration of Greenland a tho years ago equals any modern polar exploration both as regards importan as regards the way in which it was carried out." Nansen in Scribner's Mar. 1912. Article dated Nov. 26, 1911.

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old that Eric had the worst of it, and can see that he might feel to afford such a settlement, having graver matters in hand. haps he was beginning to feel the claims of a continent. Then ge fleet, for the time and country, set out under his leadership, g eleven vessels by the way, although the major part won through safely established themselves in their new home about the year The center of this colony was at Eric's home, Brattahlid, near of the branches of what is now known as Igalico inlet. Appar- he was the first judge as well as chief personage. Not far y, toward the other branch, the Cathedral of Gardar was built ndred and forty years later. It still stands, though perhaps arly fifteenth century restoration, as the ruined "Kakortok ch." In all that region Eskimo names have supplanted Norse, pt a few added by Danes in the last two centuries. Yet from nland came the Lay of Atli and possibly Edda poems[1] and Dr. sen supposes that a special school of versification had its origin e.

o one who follows the career of Eric, as outlined by the often mpathetic saga-men, will grudge him this hardly won triumph. characters, if any, are more clearly presented in history; few are ger and more interesting. A sea-king who never marauded; st man, careful of what was confided to him, yet insisting nptly on his rights at every cost; a conservative, who could turn orer off hand with better results than the work of the very best; adly fighter who fought defensively only; a man of hospitality, iality, cheerfulness, who never complained except when his stian wife turned against him for remaining a pagan.

e made the Norse Greenland, which stood as his monument for ly five hundred years. He gave the name by which we know it

Vigfusson: Prolegomena to the Sturlunga Saga, p. 191.

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6.—THE VOYAGES OF MADOC AND THE ZENO BROTHERS

A few early westward voyages on the Atlantic offer at first g the hope of throwing light upon Wineland problems, but they supply very little information. Nicholas of Lynn, whose wor been traced as far as possible by De Costa[1] and others, has l various maps indications of theories derived from his nor explorations about the year 1360. He seems to have reache land, making a quick passage and presumably going farther; bu til his lost narrative "Inventio Fortunata" shall be found, wh tell where he went?

Madoc of Wales has been put forward intermittently for cen with zeal as the first colonizer of America. Welsh Indians, by or language, were formerly (as was supposed) discovered b advocates in Florida, Mexico, the Carolina mountains, the pueblos, and the Mandan villages on the Missouri. One declared that he was greeted in Welsh in the lobby of a Washi hotel by an "Asquaw" chieftain of Virginia "wearing c feathers."[2] Stephens's newly republished "Madoc" is a ver museum of these futile oddities. There is no room for W recent or archaic, on our Indian linguistic map, and the has grown incredulous about it. Welsh people might, how have come and lost their language; and they might blend with th men so as to be indistinguishable in their descendants. We su such a result, or extermination, to have occurred in the case Walter Raleigh's colony,[3] the Norse Greenlanders and the Sp expedition, going eastward, which vanished in the Llano Esta We know it was so in the case of the Spanish Chilians, overwh

[1] B. F. De Costa: Arctic Exploration. Amer. Geogr. Soc. Bull., 1880,

[2] Th. Stephens: Madoc (ed. 1893).

[3] W. Strachey: The Historie of Travaile into Virginia. (See Pow statement.)

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1270. A well known English translation of about 1559 by
nphrey Lloyd was afterward edited and extended by D. Powell
great pains, and published in 1584. Both of these modern
ers made interpolations, which there was an honest attempt to
nguish by notes and markings; but they leave the reader uncer-
as to the actual facts.

hus the statement that "Madoc left the land and prepared certain
s and men and munition and sought adventures by seas, sailing
, leaving the coast of Ireland so far north that he came to lands
nown," may be due to some forgotten brother of a monastery;
Lloyd the translator nearly five centuries afterward, as the next
ences undoubtedly are.

irthermore, when we find Powell quoting from Gutyn Owens, an
writer, to the effect that Madoc left some of his people in the
country when he returned to Wales and that he afterward
d to rejoin them with ten ships, it is baffling to learn from
hens that close inquiry fails to supply any original and that the
age is not in the manuscript work to which it most often has
credited. Yet assuming that Powell read it in some lost book
wens, and even that it be true, we still are not informed where
oc went.

ephens also winnowed and sifted a number of pre-Columbian
ions or supposed allusions to Madoc in Welsh poems; giving
accurate translations, which offer such unnautical substitutes
walls" and "fierceness" for the sea-words relied upon. There
ins only a small residuum, vaguely celebrating his taste for
gation. We may add Lloyd's reference to certain popular
bles" of Madoc current in the sixteenth century, but a specimen
ld be more valuable than the translator's easy disparagement.
avies, quoted and followed by Stephens,[1] believed that Madoc
in Wales by the hand of an assassin before the year 1170, the

h. Stephens: Madoc (ed. 1893), p. 212; see also p. 210.

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prince is not conclusively made out nor easily thinkable.

It seems more likely that he sailed, at first on a westward c
as stated, which, if continued far enough, might land him in
Scotia or on the shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. But Mad
Wales would have no compass, though the Arabs had it, and
Spaniards through them;[1] and though the troubabour Guic
Provins was to mention it only four years later; and Madoc
no particular aim that we know of, so that, either by accide
design, his helm may have shifted widely. Armorica, Madeira
other possible landfalls have been suggested; but there is no evic
for any of them.

If the story of Madoc is baffling through its meagerness appr
ing a vacuum, the Zeno Brothers'[2] narrative is likewise bafflin
its exuberance and confusion. Nicoló Zeno published the sto
Venice in 1588, as his best restoration of a map and letters, w
he had found when a boy among family documents and torn or o
wise damaged unthinkingly. His work seems mainly done in
faith and to celebrate the prowess of the earlier Zeni, wit
thought of pitting them against Columbus; but he used divers
and books to help him out and conjectured at random, and
wilfully decorated a little, as though to make amends for
despiteful usage.[3] Thus "Icaria" in the original—possibly K
or St. Kilda—suggests the myth of Daedalus, which forthwith c
headlong into the story. Again he must needs help out a fisherm
yarn of travel among Indians in America by a little recently acq
knowledge of Aztec temples and human sacrifices. There was a
great shifting of harbors and towns. His most conspicuous inve

[1] Th. Stephens: Madoc, p. 195.

[2] R. H. Major: The Voyages of the Venetian Brothers Zeno.

[3] F. W. Lucas: The Annals of the Voyages of the Brothers Zeno (
pp. 8, 83, 99.

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ed by its unintended ingenuity of misunderstanding, a habit of igious exaggeration and a genius for transforming words. When ead that Zichmi, ruling in Frisland, made war against the King orway, it means, according to Major, that Earl Sinclair of the neys had a skirmish with a forgotten claimant to a part of his tory. Later, a warm spring on an island of a Greenland fiord, le which a monastery once stood, evolves a monastery and monk-l village on an active volcanic mountain with commercially table gardening, carried on by the aid of hot water pipes—an item owed, according to Lucas, from sixteenth century Norway or nd. You soon can measure the value of such narrative and make allowance for its exaggerations. There is usually some germ of ı to be found and the Greenland part of their map has an accuracy tail which appears to mark it as based on personal observation or rmation (see Major) that Europe could not supply, although this argument in favor of the story has been undermined by ıs and the discovery of some ancient maps.

seems that an earlier Nicoló Zeno, being cast by chance on the t of Frisland about 1390, was saved from the rude inhabitants ichmi, lord of the region, who took the Italian into his service. ló participated in the wars then and afterward carried on by Earl, and sent for his brother Antonio, who joined him in Fris-, took part in the Shetland Campaign, and wrote letters to their her Carlo at home. A certain Faroese fisherman having brought after a long absence a tale of strange adventures in unknown tries southwest of Greenland, Zichmi fitted out an expedition to them. This expedition, however, found only "Icaria," Iceland, Greenland, with some minor islands known and unknown. The ıers Nicoló and Antonio accompanied Zichmi, perhaps about

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). *cit.*, p. 105.

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beginning in 1385, who had two Eskimo servants. It was many y
since Ivar Bardsen, then or afterward steward of the Bis
accompanied, probably about 1337, an expedition of relief to
western settlement, threatened by the Eskimo—and found that co
devoid of human life. A few deserted cattle and nothing
remained as relics of the earliest of the Greenland myste
The preceding decade affords the curious evidence of an ex
official receipt for the Greenland contribution of 1327 (in w
tusks) to the expenses of a crusade.[3] These facts and the
voyage to Markland show that the Eastern settlement at least
alive and in touch with both continents. Through the second
of the fourteenth century we must suppose that the Eskimo
drawing nearer and gaining ground, especially after the retur
Norway in or before 1364 of the relief expedition of 1355 under
Knutson.[4] About 1379 there seems to have been another Esk
attack, costing the colony 18 men. But probably peace reigne
1400 and as late as 1409, when a young Icelander visiting Green
was married at Gardar by the Bishop and even after 1410, w
the last authentic voyage[5] from Iceland to Greenland occu

About 1418 the storm broke on them, according to a papal l
of 1448, in the form of a fleet of heathen, devastation, capti
and death. But the destruction was not complete and in 1448
colony was getting together again. A dubious entry[6] of
mentions annual voyages until then from Bergen to Greenl
Another papal letter,[7] about ten years afterward, announces

[1] H. Egede: A Description of Greenland, pp. 20, 21.
[2] W. Thalbitzer: The Eskimo Language, p. 29.
[3] H. J. Rink: Danish Greenland, ed. by R. Brown, p. 28.
[4] G. Storm: Studies on the Vineland Voyages, 1899.
[5] H. J. Rink: Danish Greenland, ed. by R. Brown p. 29.
[6] W. Thalbitzer: The Eskimo Language, p. 29.
[7] J. E. Olson: The Voyages of the Norsemen. Orig. Narr. Early A
Hist., Vol. 1.

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to Heriulfsness that he heard, or thought he heard, the lost e driving home their cattle and sheep in the twilight.

obably we shall never know just when the last flicker of civilized lied out of Norse Greenland; but it may well have been some- e between the middle and the end of the fifteenth century. ness falls, and there is an end; but the uncertainty and the ed pathos of this chapter of old history makes any item very me, even if distorted (see note 8, p. 177).

ajor's skill in clearing away the fogs from the adventures of Zeni among the island clusters and in Greenland has natur- been less available for America. The fisherman who caused the orable western expedition died before it started; but the regions l by them Estotiland and Drogeo appear on their map as roughly sponding to Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. Kohl[4] has ested East-outland as a derivation of the name, with reference e eastward protrusion of that great insular mass of land; but seems a difficulty in accounting for the adoption of this English . Lucas[5] rather improbably derives Estotiland, by not very dent conjecture, from the beginning of an old motto. Beauvois[6] an interesting suggestion that Estotiland is a misreading of ciland (Scotland), perhaps not clearly written in the original ; the name having been transferred to America as Great Ireland been long before, and as Nova Scotia and Cape Breton were in later times. This seems probable.

Fischer: The Discoveries of the Northmen in America, p. 51.

Egede: A Description of Greenland, pp. 14–22.

Holm: Explorations of the East Coast of Greenland. Meddelelser om and, vol. 9.

e Discovery of Maine, p. 105.

yages of the Zeno Brothers, before cited.

Découverte du Nouveau Monde par les Irlandais, p. 90.

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this name also had a European origin, Italian in source or tr mission. On Mercator's map of 1595, we find the words Dro *dit Cornu Gallia* (compare Cornouailles of Brittany) applied to C Breton island; which is too far removed from the mainland, unmistakable in its distinctive form. There is no mistaking, eit his reference to the Breton horn protruding from northwes France into the Atlantic, which gave its name, early in the sixte century, through its seafaring sons, to this other long, elev northern cape or ness discovered in the new world. This was alw the next land below Newfoundland; it was also lower in elevat perhaps in part very much so, as fully half the island certainly is r Possibly *deroga, derogare,* or *dirogare,* if carelessly treated, m evolve a Drogio fitting both meanings, if the Italian word, dispense with the moral implication of "derogatory." Mercat identification, being but seven years later than the publication of Zeno story, and, therefore, that of a geographer who could have sulted the publisher and author on any doubtful and important p must be taken as more nearly authoritative than anything else w we have. Ortelius, about the same time, showed Drogio even far from the mainland and with less fidelity to outline, but the inte the same.

This seems a revulsion from the more frequent mapping of C Breton Island as integral with Nova Scotia, which was less lite true, yet nearer the actual fact; for the Gut of Canso has never more than a water-thread, and there was nothing to prevent continuous southwestern travel indicated by the story, with ha appreciable addition of canoe-ferriage.

Dr. Fiske is at pains to present parallels to the tale of this casta in the narratives of the romancing Ingram, and the more histor well as more widely ranging Cabeza de Vaca. We might add S of Barbary, who appeared in colonial times on the wilderness bo of Virginia, having been carried from New Orleans to the Shaw

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ager and faint reflection of Spanish observations in Mexico. ,ucas, however, must be wrong in ascribing the whole story to latter source, for the Estotiland and Drogio portions have no anish earmarks and are placed too far north. On the other hand, hl in the Discovery of Maine is equally inadequate, finding only, he thinks, the reflection of the general American knowledge of eenland Norsemen; for these could have had no such illusions out their neighbor, Markland, then known for several centuries; l, on the other hand, they may be supposed quite ignorant of semi-lized teocallis, temples, and human sacrifices. About all that ld be obtained in Greenland for this little Zeno exposition of rteenth century America was the existence of a timbered New-ndland, its protrusion into the ocean, the fact that it was inhabited, great cape below it, the sea between and behind, some notion of wer coast peopled by savages, and some lingering tradition of a rmer and more fertile region lower still, and effectively guarded ike manner.

faint shadow of corroboration may be found in Cormack's[3] ount of the surprising works of industry of the Beothuk in 1828 what Cartwright[4] has to tell us more than half a century earlier. ere was surely something of the Norse indomitableness about a ple who, after centuries of encompassment and continual hostility, ld still refuse submission or even amicable relations, choosing truction instead, and who inspired a terror that outlived them in r Micmac enemies and successors. When we read of their thirty es and more of deer-fences in use when they were confined to a ll area in the northwest of the island; of their stone causeways,

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Vm. Meade: The Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia, vol. 34.

I. Lescarbot: Nova Francia. Erondelle's transl., p. 47. Also Champlain's ages, p. 46. Orig. Narr. Early Amer. Hist.

V. E. Cormack: Journey in Search of the Red Indians in Newfoundland; inb. Philos. Journ., vol. 6, 1829, p. 327.

Capt. Cartwright and his Journal; republished 1911; before cited.

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If Icelanders or Greenlanders reached our Atlantic shore, th
will always be a possibility that some trace of their former prese
may be found. Whether it amounts to probability must depend
the extent and character of that presence. There is a vast differe
between permanent occupancy[1] by thousands of people, erect
stone houses and bridges, churches, and monasteries, in a reg
like southern Greenland, where for centuries there were no ot
inhabitants and the forces of nature tended toward preservation,
the hasty visits of exploring parties and wood-cutters, or even b
attempts at colonizing a bit of forest country, subject to invasion
savages, fire, and decay.

Inscriptions deeply graven might last even until now in dry
protected places. But why should there be inscriptions? La
reports in his preface to Heimskringla that "few if any runic insc
tions of a date prior to the introduction of Christianity are foun
Iceland," while Greenland, though then already occupied for
years, and for centuries afterward, has not yielded one. There is
even a letter, runic or Latin, or a character of any kind, on the sta
ing cathedral walls of Gardar or anywhere within its compass, tho
repeated excavations have exhausted all the ground. Graah[2] not
a tablet-like wall-stone with parallel lines on its inner face, which
have been prepared for such use, but the purpose was never car
out. There are perhaps half a dozen Greenland gravestone insc
tions of the conventional sort, in one alphabet or the other, beginn
with the twelfth century; and far up Baffin Bay a miniature monum
was found about 1824, bearing the names of men who had "clea
land" or performed some other operation there at a date near W
suntide in the year 1135, as some read it, though others put the
a century or two later, apparently either as a preemption entry
record of exploring achievement. Nothing more than this in the

[1] H. J. Rink: Danish Greenland.

[2] W. A. Graah: Narr. of an Expedition to the East Coast of Greenland, p

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as once directed to the subject. Rafn's voluminous Antiquitates mericanæ led the way with the Newport "tower" (since clearly iown to have been only Governor Arnold's windmill patterned on ı older one in his former English home) and other equally random ncies. Longfellow embodied one of these speculations in a spirited .llad, immortalizing that squalid Fall River "skeleton in armor," hose copper breast-tablet and belt only antedated the ornaments und by Gosnold[1] in use on Cape Cod, with no hope at all of such ›nor.

The Dighton rock-pictures, with the central row of tallymarks, ive been many times published since the first copying by Dr. Dan- ›rth in 1680. The present rate of obliteration would have wiped em quite away before now, if existing conditions had been estab- hed then or a little earlier.[2] Schoolcraft obtained an erudite lgonquian reading from his Ojibway experts, although the tally arks baffled them, and these he called runes, but afterward with- ew the exception. As quoted by Colonel Mallery,[3] his final verdict as: "It is of purely Indian origin, and is executed in the peculiar mbolic character of the Keekeewin." These tally-like marks were ill visible when I visited the rock in 1910, but might apparently have en made by any one who could carve the numeral I or an X.

On the west shore of Mt. Hope Bay, near that noted elevation, a boulder marked on its top, as it now lies, with the outline of a at, having the bow enlarged or uplifted, much as a white man's ›at will appear when the stern sets low in the water. We saw veral like instances on Taunton River soon after inspecting and acing the one above mentioned. An Indian canoe hardly could be

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J. Brereton: A Briefe Relation of the Discoverie by Gosnold. Bibliog- pher, 1902, p. 33. Also in Old South Leaflets.

See Prof. Greenwood's letter of 1730. Amer. Anthrop., 1908, p. 251.

Fourth Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol. (1882–1883).

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Prof. Diman, when an undergraduate, is said to have mentioned it the "Bristol Phoenix" about 1846, between the time of its loss and rediscovery. Its characters have a more alphabetic look than th of the Dighton rock and may mean either something or nothi It must not be forgotten that Indians often depict objects on ro in idleness, just as any of us may carve a bit of wood or scra careless figures and characters on a newspaper margin. Such worl sometimes done as an exhibition of skill before others; and charact not obviously pictorial may be conventionalized outlines or rand grooves and scratches, not necessarily even records of any fact, s less symbolic. Of course it is not intended to deny that picto records, such as the "winter counts," have been made and preser by Indians, nor that symbolic figures are used in the ritual of th priests; but there can be no doubt that the tendency to find somethi esoteric or at least very meaningful in every chance bit of native ro scratching has been a delusion and a snare.

The proximity of the boulder to Mount Hope seems to mark t queer relic as almost certainly Wampanoag work; and the same n be said with less confidence of a chain of deeply incised recesses a channels in the landward face of another boulder found by M David Hutcheson[1] just off shore at high tide (bare at low tide) i small cove of Portsmouth Bay, Aquidneck, across the fields from railway station. Several other inscriptions, plainly Indian work, figured at the end of the Antiquitates Americanæ as formerly exist at this point and at Tiverton on the other side of the strait known Sakonnet River. They seem to have since disappeared and call for especial description.

No doubt the Wampanoags, Narragansets, or their more east neighbors of like stock, are responsible for the Dighton Rock c

[1] Charles Rau's monograph on cup stones illustrates Algonquian specim of similarly connected pattern, the nearest being at Niantic in western C necticut.

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rate of wearing away by tide-water would ensure obliteration n
doubt in much less than the nine hundred years between Thorfinn
time and our own, but that rate depends on present conditions, whic
did not obtain when the pictographs were out of reach of the tid
as they must have been at first and long afterward. This, of cours
does not establish nine hundred years of life for them, but onl
that nine hundred years of life may not be impossible. In 170
though then partly tide-washed, they were still "deeply engraved
according to Cotton Mather.[1]

On Cape Cod, not far away, some forgotten hearthstones have bee
dug up as Norse witnesses; likewise a copper plate averred by E. N
Horsford[2] to bear "the legend of Kialarness." They have been almo
restored to oblivion. The same must be said of like unconvincin
evidences occasionally reported from various points around that ba

The Charles River Valley near Boston is a region more zealous
championed; especially in the Norumbega pamphlets of E. N
Horsford,[3] whose tablet on his pretty "Tower of Norumbega" nea
Roberts station may be styled a new birth of history as the fac
ought to have been. But such matters can hardly be settled i
that way. We are given positively the dimensions and industrie
of Wineland as a nation, the name and site of its capital city, th
exact part taken by the several leading explorers and founder
and a variety of miscellaneous information, eminently desirable i
true, and at all events entertaining. In tracing the sources of th
various items it is regretted that this learned and estimable invest
gator was not more thorough in securing basic knowledge for h
conclusions.

[1] Quoted in E. M. Bacon's "Narragansett Bay".
[2] E. N. Horsford: The Landfall of Leif, p. 31.
[3] The Defences of Norumbega, The Landfall of Leif, The Discovery of th
Ancient City, The Problem of the Northmen, etc.

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follow the river? And why should the little fort be situated so from base?

At Watertown (the Norumbega of Horsford) there are indeed disordered stones of what may have been an effective rough d before the present wooden one was constructed. The shores a exhibit embankments of sand, in which Horsford thought he cerned wharves, quays, and divers other appurtenances of a co mercial waterside. One may safely say that they are man-made not recent, but beyond this there is no safe road. The dam, accord to the investigator, was to facilitate the floating of mausur wood collection and export. Searching farther, he thought he found vestiges in the Merrimack and other rivers of eastern Massachuse whence he inferred a thriving industry and a large Norse populati widely spread. It cannot be pretended that he has adequat accounted for its disappearance, with the whole inevitable retinue domestic animals. This and like facts might surely have been gi a better explanation, easy to find; for the Indians themselves w accustomed to dam and dyke streams, often of considerable size, a part of their wier-construction, which was an important matter w them, since fisheries, especially in spring, were their most relia source of abundant food supply along the Atlantic. It is of record t the Indians taught somewhat of that art to the early Virgin colonists, and their skill and industry in this line excited surpr The few surviving Nanticoke of Delaware, in fact, have told me t an old dam and a ruined fish-trap of their ancestors yet remain vis on Indian River, and I have been shown a mound (as of the sa origin) which would compare favorably for size with those I h inspected in Minnesota. The New England dams discovered by Pr Horsford were probably also Algonquian and for fishing purpo with no implication of white visitors or early lumbering. It is very remarkable that their remains should be found above Bos on the Charles River as well as below Lewes, near Rehoboth B

[1] Horsford: The Defences of Norumbega, pp. 10, 31.

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y interesting), but nothing has been established in that way affect-
the question. Many simple homes have been erected, abandoned,
forgotten in all the older parts of our country, for Anglo-Saxon
ierica is no longer new; and such remains do not usually differ
isively among related peoples.

The very land where this is written (in the hill country above the
of Washington) bears such traces of the past in different places
of different periods. It would be almost as easy to work out a
re southern Leif's-booth and Norumbega above the Potomac wild
and amid plentiful wild grape-vines, in accord with a "rune-
ne"[2] found at the Great Falls ten or twelve miles up stream, if
may believe a sensational announcement in a newspaper of Wash-
ton city (1867). It was no doubt a wild fiction, but honored by
erious Danish refutation and a note by Dr. De Costa, correcting
ne errors and substituting others.

Finally, the Superintendent of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey
tes that the oldest chart of Boston Harbor accessible to him,
de for the British government in the latter part of the eighteenth
tury, shows in the channel leading to the Back Bay a ruling depth
two fathoms. The flats of that bay have no depth-figures, but
re not necessarily quite bare at low tide, for those of Dorchester
ilarly shown have a four-foot depth marked on them. He infers
t there could have been only a "few feet" of depth on the Back
y flats except when the tide came in. By "few" we must under-
nd no doubt something like the four feet of Dorchester flats.
would have required a light draft "fleet" to make itself comfort-
there in General Washington's time. At the date of Champlain's
age (1660)[3] there was naturally no bay worth considering. He
lored the neighborhood and almost certainly anchored in Boston

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Horsford: The Landfall of Leif (frontispiece). Also Cornelia Horsford:
land and Its Ruins. (Appendix by Gudmundson and Erlendson.)

F. Boggild: Runic Inscription at the Great Falls of the Potomac. Historical
gazine, March 1869.

Voyages of Champlain. Original Narratives of Early American History,
7.


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that the thicket covers, the graves that the rain bedews." M
Horsford[1] hoped she had found the former, and if this indeed w
only so!

A seaboard point near Ipswich has some stonework locally
tributed to Norseman as Dr. Fewkes informs me.

A more positive claim has been put forward by a New Hampsl
judge in the latter case, in the Boston Journal, quoted by the Ph
delphia Times of July 27, 1902, as follows:

A certain field on the narrow marsh and beach on the main road up t
[Hampton] contains the rock on which are cut the three crosses designa
the grave where was buried Thorvald Ericsson 1004. The rock is a la
granite stone lying in the earth, its face near the top of the ground with
crosses cut thereon and other marks cut by the hand of man with a st
chisel and not by any owner. That field came into possession of the auth
ancestors 250 years ago.

Even so, there are 650 earlier years to be accounted for, years
absolute Indian dominance; and who so likely as an Indian to us
stone tool in such graving? The cross, too, has been a favorite sym
of all primitive religions from time immemorial. But, if we must g
it a Christian significance, how many different kinds of Latin Ca
olics ranged this shore before and after the very numerous early s
teenth century Basque, and Breton fishermen! There were the ex
ditions of Gomez, Fagundes, and Verrazano, the Spanish search
after the lost De Soto, the colonizing De Monts and Champla
Jesuit priests with their dusky flocks raiding or exploring, advent
ous noblemen lapsing out of French civilization after the fashion
the Baron of Castine! The list might be increased and the mark
of a cross would be almost automatic on the part of any of th
gentry. So the judge's assurance, giving it full face value, does
seem to take us very far toward certainty about the interment
Thorvald son of Eric so many centuries before.

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[1] Cornelia Horsford: The Graves of the Norsemen, pp. 20, 40. (Bound v
Leif's House in Vinland.)


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Monhegan inscription,[1] discovered in the fifties of the nineteenth ury, has been "interpreted" as giving the age of a certain ɛtain, and one Canadian theorist even identified it as the work of anians not long over from Japan, who left similar messages Iichigan on the way. A "rune-stone" has also been found at worth and a double-edged dagger, "the exact likeness of one in Chaillu's Viking Age," in a cellar near Castine. Pemaquid[2] loses pavements and house foundations, and similar vestiges vell as Algonquian inscriptions are scattered up and down the t and along the rivers. They may be mysterious enough to be andic, but no positive proof takes any of these relics back of the y Breton visitors or the first French and English attempts at colation.

ı the Algonquian myths of Maine and the British provinces, ınd[3] believes that he distinguishes echoes of the Eddas, proving se intercourse, but these do not impress every ear. Moreover f came as a missionary royally commissioned to spread the istian faith; and Thorfinn and Gudrid, with most of their folers, were in the first flush of conversion. After her return to and Gudrid was considered nearly as a saint. Besides, these stories e a distinctly aboriginal air. One really cannot discern the trast which Leland insists on between their quality and construc- and those of the Iroquois and Ojibway wonder tales. Of course e are some plots and mythical explanations which grow the world r out of certain human complications or insistent natural nomena. It is not surprising that a Passamaquoddy Indian and early Norseman should hit on similar impersonations of cold and

aid to be copied in Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, 14, 1859.

. H. Cartland: Ten Years at Pemaquid, pp. 94–103.

. G. Leland: The Algonquin Legends of New England; also his The Edda ong the Algonquin Indians. Atlan tonthly, Aug. 1889, p. 223.

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Egede seems a strained parallel and a poor partial coincide Giving the Norwegian game the benefit of all doubt as to substa identity with lacrosse, we must not forget how cat's-cradle, that artificial sport of ingenuity, occurs from of old in Britain Polynesia (see Porter's Journal) and how even the most surpri expedients and preposterous customs have apparently been vented repeatedly in remote parts of the world.

One would be inclined to consider more seriously the dou headed axe and the gouge, both peculiar to Scandinavia and no eastern America, which were exhibited by Holmes, December 1911, before the American Association for the Advancemen Science, but it may be best to imitate his caution in drawing inferences. Such topics tempt the fancy and their accumulation not quite fail to leave some impress. But they prove nothing.

Next beyond the State of Maine, and at the entrance to the br spread, lovely Passamaquoddy or St. Croix Bay, lies Grand Ma theoretically one of the most hopeful, or least hopeless, fields research, spreading obliquely north-northeast and south-southwe the mouth of the great Bay of Fundy. Thus far, no trace of anyt earlier than the American Revolution (and not unmistakably Ind seems to have been found on that island, unless it be an an greatly reduced by long rust and ocean wear, and attributed some to Champlain, though without any obvious reason. Doub many other Frenchmen anchored there in olden times, and McIntosh of the Natural History Museum at St. John, New Br wick, assures me that French anchors are often found in va parts of the province. Since nothing that can be identified rem of Champlain on or near Grand Manan, it is the less remarkable we should find no trace of Thorfinn's party, who landed, if at 600 years earlier. Such traces may, however, be hidden there the northwestern side of the island presents at least 20 miles of wi

[1] The Norsemen in America. Geogr. Journ., vol. 38, p. 574; also In Nor Mists, vol. 2, pp. 38-41.

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ompanying a paper by J. Allen Jack.[1] He believed it to be Indian; Mr. McIntosh thinks not. It seems to be something of a mystery, hough no one has ascribed it to the Norsemen.

Over the Bay of Fundy, at Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, are two rocks h strange markings; one of these "inscriptions" being sometimes nslated "Harko's son addressed the men," though this is also cred- l to Nature's handiwork. I must agree with the Harko party to extent of counter-scepticism concerning the probability of long taking rock-veins and the like for human letters. In that region y do sometimes simulate character outlines and graven symbols a curious way, nevertheless almost anyone would distinguish truth at a second glance, if not straining for an argument. But y should sensible Norsemen take so much pains to record such a vial incident? More likely it is the work of Micmac Indians, someone else equally removed from the Icelanders. Certainly it not been accepted by most investigators. There are Micmac rock- tures not far away at Fairy Lake. Also there are living Micmac ve Digby, nearer still.

Rumors of the Norsemen linger about the Nova Scotia seaboard. one isle we are quaintly told by a guide-book that Red Eric loved make it his special haunt—notwithstanding the plain testimony of saga that he was crippled by an accident in attempting to embark h Thorstein, and took this for a warning to explore no farther, remained quietly in Greenland during the Wineland voyages. ere seems to be nothing tangible connecting any Norsemen with spot, which may not have been above water in their time.

Newfoundland and the Gulf of St. Lawrence coast, though really omising on general principles, have yielded, I believe, only some ly Basque and English foundations and relics, no longer claimed as rse by anyone. Just below, southwestward at Miramichi on the

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[1] J. Allen Jack: A Sculptured Stone Found in St. George, New Brunswick. thsonian Rep., 1881, p. 665.

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man by these white recorders. But Chambers, finding the same myth among the Iroquois, fastens it in The Maid at Arms on wandering Spaniards of De Soto's time. Yet further, we learn that other tribes know these tall, hard-shelled warriors in quarters beyond the reach of mailed Europeans. Perhaps the Norse Giants should be set aside for the present as fancy-figures; it is so natural for primitive ill-defended people to thrill over such nightmares, which may issue out of the dark at any moment and do what they will with you, themselves unharmed. Something of it, indeed, is in or behind every well created ghost-story.

The deep indentation of Hudson Bay offers perhaps the only remaining field—hardly a hopeful one. The Kensington rune stone [4] fills it, having a legend all its own, and is now urged with determination by certain Minnesota advocates, geographical and linguistic, who certainly claim consideration. This relic was found in the interior of Minnesota by a Swedish farmer in a Swedish settlement, and it seems to be admitted that the inscription itself has a Swedish cast. These facts, added to the remoteness of the location and the obstacles in the way, surely raise a presumption against it. There is an attempt to overcome this objection by the statement that the stone was under and among the roots of a tree, estimated by observers to be forty years old, which would carry it well beyond the period of the modern Swedes in that locality. But any rapidly-growing tree, such as our tulip tree, or most other indigenous "poplars," will make a greater growth than Mr. Holand's several statements call for in much less time than that. A tulip tree near my home which had not yet sprung up from the seed, in August, 1897, showed in September, 1910, thirty-eight inches of measured circum-

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[1] M. F. Howley: Vinland Vindicated. Trans. Royal Soc. Can., 1898; see also E. Beauvois: Les Dernières Vestiges du Christianisme.

[2] W. G. Gosling: Labrador, chap. 1, 1910.

[3] Alpheus S. Packard: The Labrador Coast, p. 220.

[4] H. R. Holand: The Kensington Rune Stone. Records of the Past, Jan.–Feb. 1910.

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d, about it or him. And little but darkening of counsel can come n such a suggestion as that the forestland may be northward of region of stony desolation. We find no sound reason for suppos- that any Norsemen ever were in the neighborhood where the ne was found before the nineteenth century.

t seems, then, that so far as investigation has gone, there is not a gle known record or relic of Wineland, Markland, Helluland, or Norse or Icelandic voyage of discovery, extant at this time on erican soil, which may be relied on with any confidence. There inscriptions, but apparently Indians made them all except the akish work of white men in our own time; there are games, litional stories, musical compositions, weapons, utensils, remnants rude architecture, and residua of past engineering work, but no necessarily connects them with the period of Icelandic explora- or with the Norse race. One and all they may perfectly well be some other origin—Indian, Basque, Breton, Norman, Dutch, tuguese, French, Spanish, or English. Too many natives were the ground, and too many different European peoples, who were Scandinavians, came here between 1497 and 1620 for us to accept thing as belonging to or left by a Norse Wineland, without unim- chable proof.

8.—CERTAIN COLLATERAL ITEMS OF EVIDENCE

reenland and Wineland were coupled together from the begin- g in popular mention. Thus we have seen Ari the Wise, between years 1100 and 1114, referring to the hypothetical natives of the mer and the well known natives of the latter in one sentence. out 1400 Ordericus Vitalis referred to "Finland" with Greenland, arently meaning Vinland or Wineland, since he does not seem to e had the Baltic Finnland in mind. Between these, in 1121, ording to Icelandic annals, Eric Gnupson, then Bishop of Green-

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have supposed with Dr. Storm that he was on a missionary errand (though Dr. Nansen doubts this also), and that he died in trying to make the latter part of his title represent something real. However, nothing is positively known, except his passage from Iceland to Greenland in 1112, followed by his attempt, nine years later, to reach Wineland also.

Whosoever will is of course at liberty to believe that "Eric Gnupson" was really the "first bishop" of Wineland, or with the poet that:

Eric of Greenland did the deed;
He carried to Wineland both folk and creed;
Which are there e'en now surviving.

We see, full fledged, in these verses of the early seventeenth century the conception of a settled, organized, self-supporting Wineland, a thriving offshoot, which was to Greenland what we know Greenland to have been to Iceland or Iceland to Norway. The picture has its fascinations and seems to dominate many minds even yet. Nothing but proof is lacking, or at least some little glimmer of evidence in its favor. The real Wineland was a wild land, visited once by accident for a few weeks only; and once more intentionally, not long afterward, with three years' exploration and temporary abode at two points, by a party of colonists who abandoned the attempt and returned to Greenland and Iceland. That is all that we find positively recorded until 1347. This distinction, if clearly grasped, would have saved some misunderstanding and wasted work.

We have shown already that circumstances about the year 1000 favored and almost ensured the discovery of America from Greenland; also that the house of Eric Raudi would naturally take a leading part in the work. There is evidence that this happened; but as in most matters of remote history, the evidence is not absolutely first-hand. We must be content with copies of copies. The world, with due caution and corrections, rightly accepts and believes many things

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when he might still converse there with men who had met Leif or Thorfinn or some of their following and heard the story from their own lips. His "Description of the Northern Islands" was probably completed in Latin in 1076, undoubtedly not much later. In the sixteenth century there were at least six manuscript copies extant,[1] one or more being probably in southern Germany. Two such copies, written out in the thirteenth century, are now in Copenhagen and Vienna. The book was first published in print in 1585. Its authenticity is undoubted.

Reporting a conversation with the Danish King, it says:

> Moreover he spoke of an island in that ocean, which is called Wineland, for the reason that vines grow wild there, which yield the best of wine. Moreover, that grain unsown grows there abundantly is not a fabulous fancy, but from the accounts of the Danes we know it to be a fact.[2]

Then he proceeds to tell of the "insupportable ice," and gloom of uninhabitable regions beyond, ending the passage with a moving discourse on the perils of the northern seas. Here we seem to have some tradition of Helluland with its savage surroundings.

The name Wineland is superfluous to identify the more southern and more favored region, in view of the wild grain which is mentioned, and the wild grapes capable of making good wine. The valuable monograph of Dr. Jenks[3] on The Wild Rice Gatherers of the Northwest plainly discloses what a staff of life the Zizania still is to thousands of Indians. Many of the slow rivers of our Atlantic slope abound in it no less than the smaller glacial lakes. As to the wild vintage grapes, Lescarbot[4] who was of those next making their acquaintance along this shore, vaunts wine as God's best gift to men,

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[1] G. Storm: Studies on the Vineland Voyages. Mémoires Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, 1888; also separate 1889.

[2] Translation in Reeves's "The Finding of Wineland the Good," chap. 6, p. 92.

[3] Ninth Ann. Rep. Bureau Amer. Ethnol., p. 1018.

[4] Nova Francia. Erondelle's transl., p. 97.



fact that some ancient Irish sea-stories mention grape islands—as well as apple islands and other delectable places—and that he might have heard of them; and in the etymological, mythical, and every way mysterious relation of the unusual verbal form which we translate Wineland the Good (perhaps more adequately the Blessed) to the Isles of the Blest, the Fortunate Isles, the Irish Isles of the Undying and the fairy isles and hills of Scandinavia. But as Adam of Bremen adds no word, magical or otherwise, to plain Wineland—nor, for that matter, is any word added by the saga—we need not linger over the final point.

But is it not curious that Adam himself gives us no hint of these classical, Irish, and north European sources; that the next European visitors, Verrazano and Cartier, Strachey and Brereton, Champlain and Lescarbot, are equally reticent in this regard, and equally positive about the grapes; that the European writers who followed Adam of Bremen used his material freely but abstained from this particular statement as though to save their credit. Fearing this, he had taken pains to protest in advance that it was "not a fabulous fancy"; but the asseveration evidently was distrusted.

It may be objected that the sixteenth and seventeenth century Europeans had nothing to say about the wild grain, but Cartier's[2] "wild grain like rye" on the southern shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence can be nothing but wild rice plainly distinguished as it is by him from the cultivated maize which he met soon afterward as an article of diet and called "millet as large as peas," even after he had seen it growing at Hochelaga. Neither he nor any other European would consider the wild rice after making the acquaintance of this greater cultivated Indian corn, which had nearly eclipsed its rival even among the natives. But in its absence the former was highly important to all. In our present corn belt, even wheat holds its ground beside maize almost wholly by alternation; but there

[1] Nansen: In Northern Mists, vol. I, p. 345, and other passages.
[2] The Voyages of Cartier. Orig. Narr. Early Amer. Hist.


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brought no grain with them, raised none at home, and rarely
'e had enjoyed the prospect of bread for their tables; yet who
both wheat and grapes well enough from their trading voyages
eland, England, and France, and from other experiences abroad.
incredible that Leif or Thorfinn should need any explanation of
rdinary kinds of grain or of wine.

lam names no Wineland explorers; perhaps he did not hear of
nor care for them. To him they would be only obscure citizens
rude northern republic; and his chief informant, King Sweyn,
not have felt any greater concern in the matter, though it
d appear that some of his own subjects were thought to have
ed the new region.

ith Ari Frode (the Wise), next in order, the case was radically
rent. Names and historic items, exactly given, were of prime
rtance to this every way remarkable man. He had set himself
ll in detail the story of the beginnings of Iceland, omitting
ing important which concerned any notable family of any
ıborhood; a great national service never before undertaken
vhere; and he carried it through admirably. It is hardly
geration to call him the father of conscientious modern history.
east he began about 1100 the glorious prose literature of Iceland
succession of investigations and records which the world has
d invaluable. Born in 1067 and dying in 1148, he filled a long
with this excellent work.

was his habit to learn, when he could, from the very men who
taken part in the events related, or, this being impossible, from
e who had heard the story in that way, or to use the next best
ority that was attainable. Thorkel Gellisson, his uncle, is thus
ed by him as having contributed certain Greenland items,
ved at first hand from one of the companions of Eric the Red.
er informants were the foster son of Hall of the Side[1] and the

Vigfusson: Prolegomena of Sturlunga Saga, p. 28.

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of the eastern settlements and certain later additions, carrying the story down beyond his time, though his share in it has been double. He perhaps also began the long series of historic sagas[1] as one of the authors of the Kristni-Saga and the Konungabók, narrating respectively the conversion of the island and the deeds of Norwegian kings.

In each of these four books Wineland is mentioned; always as though readers would naturally be familiar with this item of history and geography. Once, being better known, it defines the supposed location of Great Ireland; and again, by a rather loose analogy, contributes its Skraelings to identify the as yet unseen inhabitants of Greenland, who had left some savage debris behind them—broken boats, discarded tools, and empty hovels. The Landnamabók has also a brief reference to "Karlsefni who found Wineland the Good, Snorri's father"—every one plainly being supposed to know all about these personages.

The Kristni-Saga says of King Olaf Tryggvason:

He sent Leif to Greenland to proclaim the faith there. On his voyage Leif found Wineland the Good; he also found men on a wreck at sea, therefore he was called Leif the Lucky.

The Konungabók passage is similar:

Leif, a son of Eric the Red, passed the same winter in good repute with King Olaf and accepted Christianity. And that summer, when Gizur went to Iceland, King Olaf sent Leif to Greenland, to proclaim Christianity there. He sailed that summer to Greenland. He found men on a wreck at sea and succoured them. Then also he found Wineland the Good and arrived at Greenland in the autumn. He took with him thither a priest and other spiritual teachers and went to Brattahlid to make his home with his father Eric. People afterward called him Leif the Lucky. But his father Eric said that one account should balance the other, that Leif had rescued the ship's crew and this that he had brought the trickster to Greenland. This was the priest.

The vellum copy of this book, known as Frisbók, may be, according to Mr. Reeves, the oldest extant manuscript mentioning Wineland.

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[1] Vigfusson and Powell: Origines Islandicæ.

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ued at sea the men of a ship's crew who were in great peril and lay upon shattered wreckage of a ship; and on the same voyage he found Wineland Good and at the end of the summer arrived in Greenland.

This passage ends like that of the Konungabók.

Also the very old Eyrbyggja Saga, two vellum pages of which e from 1300 and one entire copy from about 1350, relates that:

norri and Thorleif Kimbi went to Greenland. . . . Thorleif Kimbi lived Greenland to old age. But Snorri went to Wineland the Good with Karls-; and when they were fighting with the Skrellings there in Wineland, rbrand Snorrason, a most valiant man, was slain.[1]

This Snorri, the father of Thorbrand, is of course not to be coned with Snorri the little Winelander, son of Thorfinn Karlsefni l Gudrid, Thorbiorn's daughter.

Dr. Nansen calls attention to a narrative in the Longer Saga of ng Olaf the Saint in which the latter is made to speak of Leif csson without calling him Lucky or mentioning his discovery.

Besides narratives, there are divers geographical notices, following old formula with modifications. Reeves and Rafn have quoted m in their works above mentioned. All agree as to the relative itions of Helluland, Markland, and Wineland along the American st. One already quoted from the Antiquitates Americanæ (A. M. dex 770), omits the name Helluland, but makes the meaning ficiently clear by the substitution "deserts, uninhabited places and bergs," indicated as "south from Greenland which is inhabited." Always this series of regions is located "south from Greenland." ually they are identified as belonging to Europe. In two or three tances an extension of the formula occurs, suggesting the contion of Wineland to Africa, with inevitable implication of heat l luxuriance. In "The Finding of Wineland the Good" Mr. eves takes some pains to array these instances. Probably they repent the usual teaching of the northern schools during several turies.

His most significant quotation is from the Arne Magnean MS. (8 vo.), a miscellany partly in Latin, partly in Icelandic:

A. M. Reeves: The Finding of Wineland the Good, p. 18.

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one island, * * *

Dr. Storm attributed, not too positively, the unique and perfe
warranted hypothesis of an "open sea (the strait of Cabot) flow
in between Wineland and Markland" to a certain geographic
minded Abbot Nicholas[1] of Thingeyri, who died in 1159. This wo
imply still greater antiquity for the accepted statement about Afr
which it accompanies as an after-thought and corollary. Note
that the passage preserves a tradition of disappointment hardly
clearly stated elsewhere. Apparently the carven door-post, or wh
ever else the doubtful name house-neat-timber may convey, was
in Markland; and their next move, according to the saga of Thorf
Karlsefni, took them that spring into temporarily pleasing quart
where they afterward underwent a trying winter and nearly
heart. This timber must be that which the Flateybook saga represe
him as carrying to Europe and selling at a good price, then learn
that it was mosur or mauser wood and worth far more—on
accounts a very doubtful anecdote. We shall have more to say
this material.

From 1285 to 1295 there are a series of entries in the Icelan
Annals concerning a certain new land west of Iceland, apparen
including "the feather islands." This land and islands were fo
in the first year above given, and Land-Rolf, the zealous advoc
of an expedition to thoroughly explore them, died in the later y
named. During the interval he had been authorized and sent
by King Eric and had traveled through Iceland, gathering volunte
If he had lived a little longer, something more might have come
it. We must not insist over-precisely on direction, which these
later people used very loosely. That it should be Markland, fo
again from another point and believed to be a new discovery, n
seem strange, but to suppose with Reeves that the entries mea
part of Greenland—so much nearer and so long and well know

[1] More emphatically credited with the same in J. Fischer: The Discoverie
the Northmen in America.

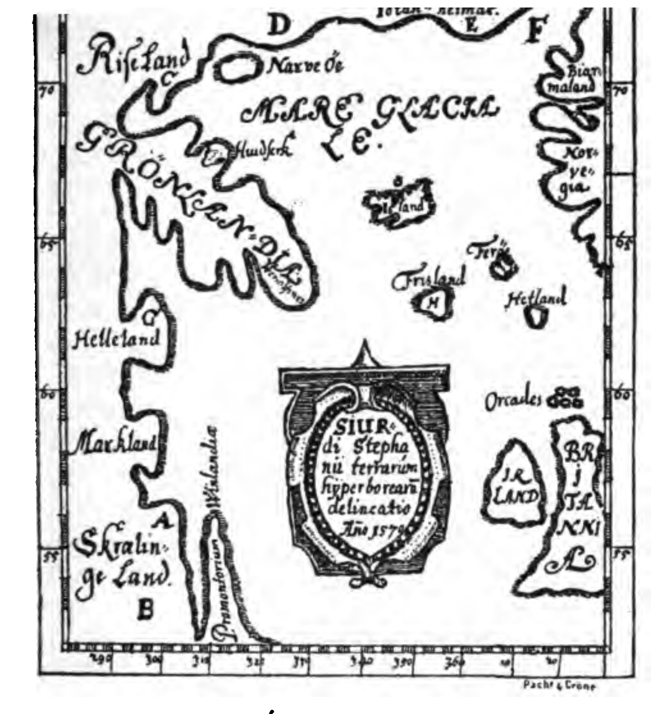
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naps give Greenland a minor duplicate in "Grocland," off its west oast yet not so far as America; and the Faroe islands called Frisund, while retaining their place, gave birth in cartography to a ctitious great Frisland far away over the ocean. The name "feather lands" was applied later in substance to divers bird-crowded slets (for example Funk Island, Cartier's Bird Island) along our ortheastern shore. On the whole it is likely that the latter was ouched at some point, probably Newfoundland or near it, by these hirteenth century discoverers who effected so little. At any rate ome such episode was currently related.

Arngrim Jonsson,[1] one of the few Icelandic authors who mentioned Vineland in the gray dawn of modern life, had for disciple and oadjutor young Sigurdr Stefánsson, a grandson of Bishop Gisli Jonson of Skalholt, Iceland. Sigurd afterward took charge of the diocesal school at that place, unhappily being soon drowned in a neighborng river at 25 years of age. His chief memorial is a map of the orthern regions, which has been copied by Torfaeus, Higginson, Viess, Vining, and others, but not always quite accurately. Although is a late document (probably 1590, though marked 1570) both its artography and notes bear valuable witness to the tradition of his ountry, where national memory has always been most tenacious and t its best. This map shows a mountainous or hilly peninsula, marked romontorium Winelandium, with its tip nearly opposite southern England, a tapering gulf behind it, and irresistibly suggesting by osition and appearance a more slender Cape Breton Island—say he long, thin part beyond Bras D' Or. The narrow Gut of Canso, which now barely separates this area from the mainland, was of ourse unknown or disregarded, as by some of the European voyagers nd map-makers of the sixteenth century. But this promontory was ot considered the whole region or country of Wineland, for a note ear the inner end of the Gulf behind it—hence also near the region bout the head of the Bay of Fundy—states that Wineland is not far

[1] G. Storm: Studies on the Vineland Voyages, before cited.

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SIGURDR STEFÁNSSON MAP OF 1570 (1590 ?)
(From Studies on the Vineland Voyages, by Gustav Storm)

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colony anticipating Jamestown. But we must not press inferenc
too far or too confidently.

Scandinavia[1] supplies the Hönen inscription of 1010 to 1050 A. I
existing in copy only, but held authentic by Prof. Bugge. It includ
fragmentary letters which seem to make up "Vinland," with allusio
to its remoteness in the seas and to neighboring cold regions. D
Nansen, however, thinks its "Vinlandia" may be a myth, locat
anywhere.

Taking all these minor evidences together, we find them affirmi
that there were three distinct regions south of Greenland, name
Helluland, Markland, and Wineland, in that succession southwar
that Wineland was perhaps cut off from Markland by water, but w
not very distant, at least in its northern part; that its northern e
was a promontory, and its southern face abutted on the sea, thou
it was perhaps connected to Africa; that it was prolific and especial
notable for its spontaneous yield of grain and grapes; that Le
discovered it by accident and Thorfinn Karlsefni visited it, foug
there with natives, losing Thorbrand, the son of his friend Snor
and withdrew in disappointment; that Thorfinn's own son Snor
was born in Wineland, and that he and Leif found valuable wo
fit for carving. From the names we know that Markland was fore
clad and Helluland a region of flat stones and desolation. Perha
we may fairly add that Wineland was understood to be of gre
extent, almost marching with Markland at its upper limit and wi
the later Spanish possessions at its lower. In other words it includ
perhaps all between the Chesapeake and the Gulf of St. Lawrenc
but there is no need to insist emphatically on these boundaries.

This is the sum of our information; but even without any Winela
saga we should not be quite in darkness. Now, if there be two
more versions of the Wineland discovery and exploration, the p
sumption, other things being equal, strongly favors that one whi

[1] H. Hermannsson: The Northmen in America. Islandica No. 2 (Bibli
raphy). See also Nansen: In Northern Mists, vol. 2.

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The three extant sagas of Greenland colonization and Wineland scovery and exploration are very old manuscript copies on vellum, the original documents being lost—as in other and even more portant cases, where we must rely on secondary evidence for all at we believe of the past. Two of these sagas occur in compilations Hauksbook and the Flateybook already mentioned—such as were ten made for monasteries or prominent men, desiring to preserve convenient form the literature or records which they valued. Mis-llaneous matter therefore accompanies the sagas: Hauksbook, for ample, having contained the Landnamabook and the Kristni-Saga, iich Bishop Bryniolf separated for convenience in recopying, ough they at last reached the same (Arne Magnean) collection. A w pages were lost in this disintegrating process, but these do not ect the Wineland narrative, which has always remained in the dy of the book.

A. M. Reeves in The Finding of Wineland the Good has carefully rked out and authenticated all that is known of the history of the ree sagas. Hauksbook, it appears, was copied for and partly by auk Erlandsson, a descendant of Snorri, the Winelander, son of idrid and Thorfinn; Hauk being also a well known personage of his ne, a lawman in Iceland, as well as a knight and lawman of Norway, iere he died in 1334. The work on this compilation is supposed to ve begun much earlier and was probably completed at latest in 1332 ring his last visit to Iceland. Hauk wrote in person the final ssage of the saga, bringing the list of Snorri's descendants down his own time and including himself by name and title (herra, quired in 1305); also he copied about half of page 99 and two lines page 100, his handwriting being well known and exemplified by still extant letter. The remainder of the saga was copied by two sistants, known as his first and second Icelandic secretaries, the ink, nmanship, and orthography changing as they replace each other

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finding the usage well settled, he may have hesitated to distu
In the eighteenth century "The Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefni
Thorbrand Snorrason" was written in for title by Arne Magnu
the greatest of Icelandic collectors and an authority whose e
action or utterance is held significant; but whether there were
better warrant for this than convenience and completeness ren
unknown. It is usually styled The Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefni
must obviously have been copied between 1305 and 1334; bu
from the same copy as the above mentioned saga of Eric the Re
the differences between them, although slight, run through e
part of the story, making everywhere for rather less archaic
graphic diction in the former saga and, when there is any differen
matter of substance, for less exact statement—a policy hardly
carried out by three men in the same way through a whole
Hauk's close supervision might account for such changes, if we
suppose any sufficient motive for making the story everywhere a
less good as literature and in some places a little less serviceable a
tory. His career and his choice of material for the compilation d
favor the hypothesis of carelessness or lack of discrimination.
these variations, then, can hardly be due to accident or to editing
must suppose two slightly different antecedent copies—one be
little nearer the original than the other—from which the two surv
sagas were independently made. For convenience of distinctio
adhere to the two names, but believe that the remote original
Eric's name only.

The Flateybook's title-page recites that it was copied by two pr
whose names are given, for John Haconsson, known in other insta
as a patron of such labors, the relevant parts of it being finishe
supposed, about 1387 or certainly before 1400; though there
been later additions, which do not concern us. This makes
transcription about three-quarters of a century later than that o
Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefni, roughly stated.

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stored to this hypothetical continuity and so published, usually as
ne Saga of Eric the Red. This is manifestly confusing, an earlier
imant of that title being already in possession. It will be better
designate it The Flateybook Wineland Saga. The Flateybook is
nsidered the handsomest as well as the most copious of all the Ice-
ndic manuscripts. Formerly its Wineland narrative was some-
nes assumed to have been composed in Greenland, perhaps from the
ture of the two headings of its sections; but we do not know that
y sagas were written there and discover nothing like affirmative
stimony in this instance—which, indeed, seems close to a decisive
gation. For the Flateybook version robs Eric's house of the claim
first discovery and charges his daughter Freydis with atrocious
ibelievable crime. No one in any way connected with Eric or
cepting his or his son's leadership could be expected to tolerate it.
ven remote descendants would not enjoy the hearing or reading.
Some Scandinavian writers (see Reeves's notes) have credited this
rsion conjecturally to the north of Iceland, others lay stress on the
idoubted first finding of it as an heirloom in the west on Flat-
and of Broadfirth, but cannot follow the trail much farther.
ick of its rather late emergence there is a long period unaccounted
r, and its place of origin is unknown.

The Arne-Magnean vellum MS. 557 quarto, containing the third
these old sagas, must have been copied about 1400, according to
igfusson and other Icelandic authorities. Its transcriber did not
ve Hauksbook before him, because he copied more archaic terms and
en some slight verbal errors, not in the saga of Thorfinn Karlsefni,
it evidently from the lost original or an intermediate copy—most
kely the latter. Also, as pointed out by Prof. Olson, it does not have
e ending of the pedigree, which Hauk personally added.

A. M. Reeves mentions two verbal items, which, on the face of
em, appear to favor the Flateybook. It gives the name Midiokul
r the first point in Greenland sighted by Eric, adding that it is "now
lled Blacksark." The Thorfinn saga calls it Blacksark only; that
Eric the Red, perhaps by the transcriber's error, calls it only

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Likewise of the two Brands. The two parallel sagas say "Bisho Brand the elder," which of course could not have been writte before the second Bishop Brand was consecrated—in 1263. Th Flateybook says "Bishop Brand" only, which might have bee written at any date after the consecration of the first Bishop of tha name and before that of the second one, but also may have bee written after the latter event, if the Flateybook saga-man happene to lose sight of one bishop. Moreover this is in the genealogical ta of the story, presumably added from time to time, as we see i Hauk's case, and does not throw any more light on the date of th body of the saga than a birth-entry or death-entry in a family Bibl throws on the date of the neighboring book of Genesis.

Hauk Erlendssen might not notice the omission of the elder Bran or of a mountain's obsolete name—if he knew it—but he was to prominent and cordially interested a descendant of Thorfinn an Gudrid not to be an authority—probably the best one then living— on the family traditions of descent and achievement; so his copyin and evident endorsement of the saga of Thorfinn Karlsefni is strong argument for its claims, as to all the main points at leas though he should probably have given it the original name The Sag of Eric the Red.

In particular, how can we suppose him ignorant whether hi ancestress was the granddaughter of Vifil of Vifilsdale and went t Greenland as an unmarried girl with her father Thorbiorn; o whether she was picked up, a kinless woman, by Leif from a wrec at sea, together with an otherwise unknown and quite apochrypha first husband, Thori the Eastman? Either Hauk was thus incredibl ignorant, or he wilfully falsified the record to glorify his ancestor or the version preferred by him is the right one. The former tw alternatives contravene his known standing and character, as well a all the early writings (except the Flateybook) touching this subject the third has simply nothing but the Flateybook against it.

This instance is characteristic of the latter's elaborated saga, whic must have been produced at so late a day that liberties with famil

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as authentic not only by the descendants of the explorers but by the Icelandic neighbors and fellow countrymen.

Their styles afford another criterion; it being well known th hardly any literature is so directly, impressively, and nobly ep so Homeric in quality, as the early Icelandic sagas, but that, as alwa the first flush of power was succeeded after a time by greater (more obvious) self-consciousness and love of adornment, produci good work, yet not so good as before and easily distinguishab Even in the English translation we must feel that the saga of Thorfi Karlsefni belongs to an earlier and nobler period than the Flate book story.

Scandinavian scholars, more intimately enlightened, bear this c with emphasis. Storm insists that the composition of the latter sa cannot long have preceded its copying, thus making the date perha 1350 to 1380; whereas he suggests 1270 for the other narrative; a the later consideration of Finnur Jonsson, an excellent authori quoted by Olson [2] with approval, carries this back to 1200 confident

Embedded in that early prose are two epigrammatic fragments verse, which no doubt antedate all sagas, following a general law t world over. Storm has shown that their metre indicates the eleve century and Reeves has pointed out a very archaic choice and fo of language. There has been difficulty in exactly determining t meaning, and some variants in certain later copies apparently ha none in part, the sounds and forms persisting without it, throu reverence for tradition, as often happens everywhere. They cla on the face of them to have been composed in Wineland during Ka sefni's expedition, and though no great reliance be placed on th we may be sure that they are the most nearly contemporary co positions on the subject (except his sailing directions embedded the saga) which we are ever likely to see.

The framework of the two versions may be compared instructive According to "Eric the Red" and "Thorfinn Karlsefni," Leif the s

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[1] A. M. Reeves: The Finding of Wineland the Good. Appended Notes.
[2] Julius E. Olson: Original Narratives of Early Amer. History, vol. 1, no


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passing thence by a strait to the sea. Here they spent a year, at last had to leave on account of the hostility of the natives. T returned to Straumey and spent another year there unmoles incidentally exploring the other side of Keelness, apparently southeast shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, including a par what is sometimes called the Acadian Bay. Here Thorvald t helmsman, another son of Eric, was killed by an archer of g activity, whom they thought abnormal. Quarrels among th selves about the married women caused their return to Greenl thence to Iceland. Biarni, one of Thorfinn's noblest compani went down at sea on the way, having given his life in a sinking for that of an unworthy follower.

The Flateybook saga, it would seem, rewards this Biarni by ma him, not Leif, the accidental discoverer of Wineland, he being or way from Iceland to Heriulfsness in Greenland, following his fa Heriulf—a relationship unknown to Landnamabook. He tou three lands, evidently meant for those of Karlsefni taken in rev order, the upper part of Wineland being first found. Biarni did die, but safely reached the shore in front of his father's house, or first approach to Greenland, an improbable achievement often stantially repeated in this saga. Leif blamed Biarni for not landin any shore that he discovered, so he borrowed Biarni's ship and sa forth to remedy the error. He found the three "lands," this tim north-to-south order, and built, "Leif's-booths" on the shore of a which seems a composite of the southern Hóp and the northern behind Straumey. He returned to Greenland for no reason gi picking up Thori the Eastman and his wife Gudrid from a wrec the way.

Next, Leif's brother Thorvald borrowed the ship and the W land house and reached the latter without any recorded diffic From this abiding place he explored the coast westward a long and afterward explored eastward also to Keelness, turned that c

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hem, but at last withdrew to Greenland from that hostility. Thorfinn :arried Wineland products to Europe and bought property near his former home in northern Iceland, where he lived and died.

Last of all, Freydis led an expedition to Leif's-booths, quarreled vith companions about occupancy and other things, and in the end 'ery wantonly and treacherously compassed the murder of a whole hip's crew, chopping to death all the women, after capture, with her own hand. She returned with a false tale, but Leif suspected and ortured her followers into confession, though he spared her as his ister, while predicting evil.

It will be seen that the Flateybook saga substitutes five voyages hat reached Wineland for only two, using as additional leaders nearly ll the names made prominent in the earlier narrative. Necessarily t has divided up Karlsefni's experiences and geography and filled hem out with other matter to make them go around, thus causing confusion. For the same reason and to be more exciting, minor items nd hints have been elaborated, sometimes with misunderstanding, nd in other instances with shifting of place. For example Thorvald's death in battle, Christian sentiments and picturesque burial—he result of a wanton massacre properly punished—seem to have een worked up from two simple unconnected items in the saga of Thorfinn Karlsefni, put together for dramatic effect; and the momentary frenzy of Freydis before the yelling Indians is interpreted s furious malignity and developed into a nightmarish and quite nbelievable episode. Perhaps, as Dr. Storm suggests, the reference o quarrels over married women may have been another germ n this case, though affording little material.

In substituting a voyage from Iceland for a voyage from Norway, he probability of an accidental view of America, as he points out, as been destroyed. Greenland is so near Iceland that any one nissing its lower tip would discover and put about long before

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shore; the former by a discouraging southward drift of ice, th latter by the bodily force of storms. Prof. Horsford[1] has compile and printed an instructive chart, showing the recorded drift of man derelicts and storm-driven vessels to New England under the domin ance of the currents from the north and the prevailing winds. Bu to fall within their power one must sail low enough.

Leif's alleged Wineland house, too, is a monument of improba bility—being found by each one of the later parties, with year between them, and always incredibly ready for occupancy, eve after the neighboring savages had gone to war with the temporar white intruders and would have liked nothing better than to loot an burn. It is hardly necessary to cite the angry Indians who "pulle out the cross"[2] from the grave of "Champlain's" follower an "digged up the body" to make their savage sport with it. Wh should they spare an enemy's home? We need not pick out and dwe upon all such untenable items. Mr. Reeves has afforded ever facility in The Finding of Wineland for a word by word compariso either in the original handwritten Icelandic, or the same in prin or the printed English translation. It is disappointing to find D Fiske declaring of the additional voyages, "it seems to me like that the Flateybook here preserves the details of an older traditio too summarily epitomized in the Hauksbook," for surely the law literary development is from the simple to the complex. There a some exceptions, perhaps; but the internal evidence is strong adverse to the supposition that we have one before us. Dr. Fiske notes clearly show that he had not seen the above work of Reev and the English translation of Storm's paper until after his own te was prepared; and he can hardly have given them adequate consider tion. The Flateybook Wineland saga bears the familiar marks derivation and development. This does not necessarily mean th the composer of it had "Eric the Red" or "Thorfinn Karlsefni

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[1] Horsford: The Landfall of Leif, p. 42.

[2] M. Lescarbot: Nova Francia. Erondelle's transl., p. 105.

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ehavior of Gudrid herself in the grief and horror of that uncanny leath-night. It seems the elder form, but the other must have leveloped early. Both put words of prophecy in Thorstein's mouth, nost reasonably explained as, at least in part, of later interpolation. They display a knowledge of Gudrid's religious eminence toward the lose of her life and the subsequent prosperity of her family.

The Flateybook Wineland saga is chiefly important as at least artly independent testimony to much that is recorded in the others; nd for some items which it adds that seem authentic. If all else vere lost, we might still learn from it of Helluland, Markland, Vineland and Keelness, their relative position and their chief charcteristics; the island north of the lower end of the land, which is lmost the direction of Grand Manan after rounding the southvestern tip of Nova Scotia; the behavior of the tide and the great hallows left on the ebb, suiting equally Thorfinn's great currents nd what may be seen now along the lateral bays and rivers of he Great Bay of Fundy the fiord-indented mountainous shore of New Brunswick and Maine just beyond; the voyages of Leif and Thorfinn; the birth of Snorri and the death of Thorvald, both n Wineland; the savages who had furs to trade and were imrovident in dealing, who took flight at the bellowing of a bull and fterward attacked the settlers with fury; the two days' sail between Helluland and Markland and between Markland and Wineland—vith divers other matters alike in all versions. As added items we ave Thorfinn's stockade, a precaution which he would be likely to orrow from his enemies after danger threatened; the piling of imber above a cliff, perhaps as now, where a shute or runway shows t the north point of Grand Manan; the tall and striking figure of he hostile chief; the wooden structure on an island, possibly a shed r bin for wild rice gathered by Indian women, who are still the chief arnerers of the northwest, and a much-expounded statement that

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how far is not stated.

Bishop Howley[1] presents what may be called the gastronom view, as opposed to the celestial. Dagmalastad is admittedly brea fast-time, and the eykt measured the interval to the afternoon me: Thus regarded, the Icelanders were merely expressing their sati faction at being able to eat both meals by sunlight every day throug the winter. Of course they were sailors and practical would-l settlers and this view is somewhat tempting at first glance.

But they really could take observations at need after a fashio and were willing to report the same for the people at home; as the celebrated case of that Arctic expedition in 1266, which we farther than any one could follow it until the nineteenth centur The sun, they reported, shone about July 25th over the gunwale a seven-oared boat on the face of a man lying across the bottom wi his head against the opposite rail. Also at a given time the sun was high at midnight as when it was in the northwest in settled Gree land. The first latitude depends in part on the height of the gunwa and the exact position of the man's face; the second on the chos point of the settlement. Probably there was approximately a stan ard size and pattern of boat and Gardar would be understood as tl home observatory; so these two made after all a pair of rough ar ready indications; from which Rafn deduced a parallel between tl 75th and 76th degrees. Thalbitzer thinks they probably did not pa the 73d, but bases his estimate on matters of the coast-outli rather than calculation. This primitive nautical observation mak a good precedent for the Flateybook statement, which also has authentic look, although there is no record of it before 1387 or ther about.

Apparently it relates to the northern dwelling-place besi Straumfiord, which may well come within the limits allowed by tl modern astronomers' calculation, especially if we allow for son

[1] Vinland Vindicated, before cited.


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kinfolk a century or two before and which they may have known ver
well, but this after all is hardly certain enough for reliance.

They were no doubt the first observers of the difference betwee
isothermal lines and lines of latitude crossing the Atlantic ocean,
dislocation which the human mind even yet finds it hard to realiz
or regard as quite natural. Some point in southern New Englan
seems called for; though possibly Yarmouth or Eastport might d

It would be interesting to know whence these bits of reall
illuminating tradition drifted into the Flateybook version, but the
cannot offset the grave charges against it. The preference long an
generally given this later derivative and corrupted saga has been or
of the chief causes of investigation going astray. Two others are
persistent conception of Wineland as an organized continuing colon
and the innocent acceptance of the present seaboard as that of th
year 1000. Of course there are still others.

Dr. Fiske says in a note it "is like summer boarders in the countr
struggling to tell one another where they have been to drive—pa
a school-house, down a steep hill, through some woods and by a sa
mill"; for "the same general discription will often apply well enoug
to several different places." This is an apt illustration of the muddle
and unhelpful presentation of locality in the Flateybook, but doe
not apply at all to the graphic, precise, and individualized sailin
directions of the earlier Hauksbook saga, or still better, its companio
Eric the Red.

Bishop Bryniolf, with a discoverer's delight, no doubt impresse
the importance of his ample and beautiful prize on Torfæus and th
royal recipient, and it was most natural that the historian should pu
its version prominently forward in his history (1705), the first of a
books on Wineland, though printing with it the Saga of Thorfin
Karlsefni; also that the great von Humboldt, knowing no Icelandi
should accept his verdict and consider mainly in the Examen Critiqu
those two chapters from the Tryggvason saga, though not failing t
note the evident effect of long continued oral transmission on a

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urging the subject effectively on public attention, repeated this t honored error, adding to it the Newport tower, the Dighton r wild Indian-corn and other damaging credulities. Even Vigfuss Origines Islandicæ, published long after his death, held in the the same ground about the Flateybook, contradicting one of its notes, and provoking Professor Olson's very natural suggestion "some hand less cunning than Vigfusson's" had perhaps bee work. Similarly Fiske's Discovery of America adheres general the text to the Flateybook, though its notes feel the influenc new light recently received.

Dr. Gustav Storm of Christiania was the first to present effect the true state of the case in his pivotal Studies on the Vineland ages, an English translation of which will be found in the Mém de la Societé Royale des Antiquaires du Nord 1888. Reeves follo his lead (1890) in The Finding of Wineland the Good, a work c acterized by Dr. Fiske as "the best book we have on the subje English or perhaps in any language." Probably it is so, if by "b we understand the most accurate and elaborate within its limits, ra than the most original. It is the only one giving facsimiles o vellum pages of the Wineland sagas and an approximately com list of the extant later copies, its reproductions in print of the orig Icelandic, with line for line carefully stated English translations accepted as the most reliable and it adds by footnotes and final n in data and commentary, a very great amount of new and highl structive material. But he passes by almost wholly the subje localities which his forerunner had treated with great care and, most points, I think, with nearly exact insight. Dieserud[1] (19 in a valuable paper before the American Geographical Society, Olson in his condensed and clear preface to the Voyages of Northmen in the Scribner's series "The Original Narratives of E American History" have emphatically taken the same ground; w is not likely to be lost again.

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[1] Juul Dieserud: Norse Discoveries in America. Reprint from Bull. A Geogr. Soc.

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to consider, then, just what this word means and how far what it stands for may be relied on after so long a time had elapsed. Saga, we are told, meant story, broadly; though a more restricted significance is given by later usage; and stories, of course, are of many kinds. The Book of Ruth, Freeman's Norman Conquest, Mark Twain's Innocents Abroad, and Henry James' ghastly The Turn of the Screw, are all undeniably stories. In early Iceland the case was the same. The Heimskringla is an honest rendering of history on the great scale, very picturesquely given, for a long line of northern kings, in accordance with the tests and standards then available; the Bandamanna Saga is an almost dainty bit of comedy, with social and political strategy for its fabric and an altogether delightful prodigal father, artfully helpful at need, for its very most winning figure; the Volsunga Saga is perhaps the greatest of myth stories, with Shakespearean dramatic qualities in all its later portion, as Andrew Lang has written; the Saga of Nial the Burned—one of the great works of the world—contains as sound and noble characterization as may be found anywhere and the most complete of all presentations of the practical working of early law; the Grettir Saga is a Robin Hood romance, touched with human sympathy and deepened to awful tragedy by the haunting of evil eyes, dead and damned, never relenting, which bring fear where no fear was and force him to endure the company of assassins rather than face the dark, so preparing his inevitable doom; the Saga of Cormac is a string of his poems or those attributed to him, like so many beads, on a fine thread of wayward northern love-story and travel; and the same may be said of Gunnlaug the Serpent Tongue, though in a more comforting and cheerful key. The list of deviations might be very greatly increased without effort.

In a field so varied every way, there should be room for a ship's log and business-like statement of explorers' notes, afterward filled out with items and episodes derived originally from members of the

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anxious not to vary from the essential truth of what had befallen

Unfortunately only a minority of these earlier Icelandic saga remain—some thirty-five in all; for the world has lost a grea treasure. It is natural that we should prize them, even overrat them, when we are induced to know them at all; but we must nc regard them quite as we should the modern painstaking work of Parkman or a Motley. Their composers were quite without our test of probability in many things, notably in things supernatural. Eve the ghost-game was under different and prodigious rules, which w find out of keeping; for a ghost came usually in the body an veritably out of the grave or dripping from the sea, and he coul be clutched and broken and killed like a man. With them the grue some, fully believed in, quite reached its climax. What iron nerve the northern people must have had to support existence!

Moreover, like all unsophisticated non-analytical folk, these nar rators were liable to confuse their own inferences with what actuall was, or could be, known; the best of them is as ready as any Gree historian with his word-for-word dialogues of two centuries earlie though these were admittedly unrecorded at the time of utterance an most unlikely to linger for a week without change in any mind. Th truth of the sagas[1] is not then in all cases that of absolute precision They aimed to present past conditions and occurrences in the mos graphic and dramatic fashion, making them live again for the reade or hearer. Apparently the Old Testament narratives were thei model; their own histories developing and diverging from it in s far as their customs, ideals, and beliefs differed from those of it writers, and the work of each saga-man being conditioned by th special material before him, as well as by his individual gifts.

The first sagas were doubtless very simple and oral, having fo contemporaries brief stories and spell-songs in verse, occasionall

[1] Yet see Laing's preface to Heimskringla, p. 188, concerning the local fidelit of the Orkneyinga Saga.

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were done mainly by one writer there would be general unity o
style and literary effect, but with the original elements yet distinguish
able. The great sagas are all of this composite character; yet wit
this imposed artistic unity, though it may be harder to dissect Egl
or Laxdaela than the Eyrbyggja Saga, which almost dissects itsel

Our Wineland saga, though not the longest, is clearly of thei
class and kind. It seems that a shorter Saga of Eric the Red an
one of Thorfinn Karlsefni's voyage must have been thus united in i
including also parts of a lost saga of Leif—other fragments of th
latter being represented perhaps by the Thorgunna chapters of th
Eyrbyggja Saga. The same hand has polished and kneaded it al
introducing some illustrative adornments like the incantation scen
chiefly, though not quite exclusively, in the preliminary Greenlan
section. There seems to have been great care on the part of thi
final saga-man, say of 1200, not to confuse or distort Thorfinn's caref
memoranda of coastal geography.

As the saga comes to us, the contrast in subject matter is obviou
and great. The phantoms, miracles, magic, and prophecy are a
in the earlier Greenland part, the sailing directions all in that relatin
to Wineland. The former must be considered an historical romanc
embodying all that we know of Red Eric, as well as Gudrid's ancestr
and early life, her loves and bereavements; the latter is a matter o
fact statement of her unique adventure in exploration with her hus
band, adding bits of information and episodical anecdote. The recor
making the backbone of this voyage-history might have been origin
ally in very few words, not vastly exceeding the inscription found o
one of the Women's Islands in Baffin's Bay. That such guides t
future explorers, travelers, traders and colonists were matters of ca
and conscience to competent early navigators appears very clearl
from Champlain's seventeenth century account of the way to get int
the Penobscot, Ivar Bardsen's fourteenth century account of the wa

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The residuum of verse[1] in it may seem odd company for coa notes and distances, though Thorhall's derision in that form hac very practical turn at the end of an unsatisfying winter; but vers often appear in Icelandic sagas. Sometimes they are the known pr ductions of the poet-champions celebrated, or imitation of th work, both kinds being exemplified by the sagas of Cormac a Egil; sometimes, as in Gretla, they are chiefly foreign interpolatic of no taste nor skill; or again they may be real or supposed rel of older balladry. In the Saga of the Heath-Slayings—that savag unforgettable epic, which somehow recalls the equally intense a primitive old Scotch border-ballad with the refrain "and my gea a gone"—the basic tales in verse are not always quoted from, b cited occasionally by the prior author's name. Both plans are larg and about equally adopted in the Eyrbyggja Saga.

In the Saga of Eric the Red, a not extravagant ingenuity m distinguish the episodes of Thorhall the Huntsman, the Gaelic Ru ners, the Battle at Hóp, the Death of Thorvald, the Markla Captives, and the Death of Biarni, each easily separable and indivi ual, as probably single ballads in their original shape. That of t Gaels Haki and Hækia has been inserted in the wrong place, presu ably by the final saga-writer, making them find grapes and gra before finding birds' eggs and having an overlapping joint with t context, more instantly obvious than that of the two creation legen in Genesis. This anecdote, if veracious, belongs evidently to t next autumn at earliest.

The place-names of the saga have been transferred from Iceland, f example, Hóp, Straumey, and Kjalarness, just as Oxford of Mar land or Plymouth of Massachusetts derived their names throu English colonists from English towns; or they are descriptive and general application where the same conditions prevail, as Markla

[1] Prof. Diman's critique of De Costa's "Pre-Columbian Discovery." No American Review, 1869, vol. 109, p. 269.

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will be resumed in a later chapter. The name is not on the Icela
maps, and Mr. Stefánsson of the Library of Congress, a south-I
lander by birth and long residence, does not know of it there.

Apparently this is the one invention of the explorers in local nom
clature and one of the most significant items of their saga, defini
aptly the impression of the typical American sea-shore of interm
able strand and dune, which they could never have encountered
fore and would never afterward find elsewhere. It would have be
equally unknown to the later saga-man or even to Hauk Erlends
who copied him in the first third of the fourteenth century si
neither of these could be aware of anything distinctively Ameri
except from the Wineland sagas and traditions.

The methods of naming above-mentioned overlap in some degr
so that it is not always possible to say whether old, general asso
tions or new observation have had the greater share. One would
that these Icelandic visitors were rather more careful than so
of their successors to avoid such incongruities as the Naples
interior New York, or as Snow Hill, a county seat beside a sm
cypress-bordered river in a flat farming region near the sea. I
no doubt it is safe to distrust unlikely and uncorroborated expla
tions of the saga names or events, especially where we are give
choice of two in different versions; for example, the alternati
about Keelness or the two accounts of the first finding of the grap
They have the air of afterthoughts, accounting for or illustrat
some item as to which there was no further light, but which
saga-men, or the composers of material which they incorporat
were not self-denying enough to merely leave as found.

The personages of the story were born, and for the most p
reared, under the Northern pre-Christian religion; so it wo
not seem strange to find Thor's name occurring as frequently as t
of Jesus still does in Mexico, or as those of St. Patrick or St. Mich
do in Ireland; yet it must be admitted that Thord, Thorhall, Th
biorn, Thorwald, the two Thorsteins, Thorgunna, and several othe
occurring in a single saga, not of the longest, may be counted exc

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roster of troops would disprove the battle of Saratoga.

11.—THE STORY OF THE FIRST AMERICAN MOTH

Gudrid is unmistakably the heroine of the saga and fills adm a good part of its Greenland section—as winning and nobly gra a womanly figure as may readily be found in any literature. greatest of feminine explorers, the inspirer of the earliest atten colonize America and sharer in all its hardships, and the moth the first-born white American, she must not lightly be passe Her father Thorbiorn held his ground after Eric's first departur for some years declined his invitations to Greenland. But Thor was somehow losing ground among his people; and felt this br home to him unbearably when a disparaging offer of marriag Gudrid (as he considered it) was urged by an old friend, of wh expected kinder things. Apparently she felt with him; for seems to have been no attempt at dissuasion, even when he called numerous well-wishers together in a great banquet, made a s about his honor and, lavishing gifts on them all, announce intention to sell out and emigrate. Perhaps she may have s his adventurous longing for the chances of life in a new fiel found no resisting magnet in any of her numerous Iceland su indicated by the saga.

All that remained to them went in that ship, and certain fr joined the company, to their cost in some instances, for there sickness and death on the way. It was indeed a dreadful voya prolonged storm and unceasing hardship and danger; but they at last to the lowest settled peninsula of Greenland, Heriolf where they were received for the winter. Remains of a churc other vestiges have been considered to mark the spot; with no

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"and some had not returned." The infant Greenland colony suffered and was stinted. As the winter drew on, Thorkel and his neighbors grew anxious and depressed. Pagan still, though with a slippery grasp on the old belief, they decided to call in the aid of a seeress or prophetess having occult powers; who shows us what Scott's Norna might have been in the palmy days of her craft and in cheerier vigor of life. It was her custom to visit on invitation various homes, where the people gathered in the hope of good words for the future as the spirits might give her light. Thorbiorg was her name and she was the youngest of nine sisters, all with this gift of prophecy, a truly formidable array. Says the saga[2]:

When she came in the evening, with the man who had been sent to meet her, she was clad in a dark-blue coat, fastened with a strap and set with stones quite down to the hem. She wore glass beads around her neck, and upon her head a black lamb-skin hood, lined with white cat-skin. In her hands she carried a staff, upon which there was a knob, which was ornamented with brass, and set with stones up about the knob. Circling her waist she wore a girdle of touch-wood, and attached to it a great skin pouch, in which she kept the charms. . . . . She wore upon her feet shaggy calf-skin shoes, with long, tough latchets, upon the ends of which there were large brass buttons. She had cat-skin gloves upon her hands, which were white inside and lined with fur. When she entered all of the folk felt it to be their duty to offer becoming greetings.

She was provided as usual with a sort of throne on a dais and with special food, a leading feature being the hearts of every animal which could be procured in that region. She would not prophesy the first night, but slept in the house; and the next day had a circle of participants formed before her. Then she called for some woman to sing a certain "spell" of subtle power; but there was none to be found who knew the song until Gudrid owned that it had been taught

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[1] *E. g.* The Saga of Thorgisl. Origines Islandicæ, Vigfusson and Powell.
[2] A. M. Reeves: The Finding of Wineland the Good, p. 33.


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held aloof and would answer nothing, but loved such a treat. With this aid, she promised improved conditions for the colony; and fo Gudrid, abundant prosperity and distinction, ranging beyond her, i Iceland, to her lucky descendants. Then she departed and th scandalized Thorbiorn returned.

Not very long afterward the ice broke up along shore with th opening spring and Thorbiorn and Gudrid were free to sail t Ericsfirth and Brattahlid, where the redoubtable ruddy Eric me them "with both hands" of welcome. They made their home wit him until another could be provided on one of the nesses protrudin like that of Heriolf.

That autumn Leif appeared among them with his inspiring tal of a fruitful Wineland in the southwest and certain valued product to make his words good; also with a priest and teachers to Chris tianize the people and some men whom he had rescued from a wrec at sea. Seldom have so many welcome sensations been presented a once to a people hungry for tidings. Except a minority, includin Eric himself, Thorhall the Huntsman, and Thorstein the Swarthy o Lysufirth, all were in the best of mood to receive his religious messag favorably and this work seems fully to have claimed him. Hi mother was his first convert and made his father sufficiently uncom fortable. They acclaimed him "Leif the Lucky"; and so he i commonly called, with great justice, to this day.

That winter there was a great buzz and stir. Eric held out in hi paganism with a genial scorn for novelties, and when his wife with drew her countenance, he determined to withdraw himself bodily and to accompany his son Thorstein, a fine specimen of a man, if no over successful, on a voyage of exploration to this tempting ne country the next spring. Eric was the very leader for the voyage having so thoroughly done the work along 300 miles of Greenlan coast and through the most forbidding water gates to the deepl

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Greenland discomfited. Yet they did not fare ill. Eric greeted
with a relieved chuckle, which still lingers in his Stevenson
words: "More cheery were we when we sailed out of Ericsf
yet we still live; and it might have been worse." Gudrid
Thorstein the more effective solace of her heart and hand; g
with him soon afterward to a new home away up at Lysufirt
little below the present Godthaab.

An epidemic visited their little community that winter and
Thorstein with others. When all seemed over, the outworn yo
bride-widow went at last to lie down, but was awakened aw
in the blackness by a voice announcing that her dead husband
arisen in his bed and called for her. The messenger was his na
sake and joint owner, Thorstein the Swarthy, overwhelmed for
moment by that most hideous of Icelandic imaginings, a belie
the evil possession or soulless revival of corpses, making these bo
of loved ones the most malignant monsters. The blackness o
must have been on her too, and far more dreadfully, yet he saw
she would go notwithstanding and bade her cross herself as
in uncanny peril. She declared her trust in God's protective g
ness and went in. Then the awakening dead man, as they held
greeted her lovingly, telling her many things close in her ear w
no other heard. Soon, too, he spoke aloud for all to hear, foretel
great things in her behalf, as had the prophetess, charging them
take certain measures with a dead wizard's body for ending
pestilence and to carry himself and other victims to Ericsfirth
burial; and in especial enjoined her not to marry a Greenlan
Now this significant warning, fitting so aptly her later marriag
an Icelander, who promptly went with her to Wineland, may
considered a mere coincidence or a real cause of their adventu
effort or a touch of later art maintaining the harmonies. Perh
the first suggestion is the least probable, but it does not greatly ma
Gudrid sailed back with her dead, a grim voyage down the ro

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success in his undertakings. He was prosperous, too, and a
reinforce the supply of good things very acceptably for the
time entertainment at Brattahlid.

Icelanders were particular as to ancestry, and erudite in ped
although some of the ancestral nicknames of their records h
wild-Indian-like sound to our modern ears. Thord Horse
Thord the Yeller, Fiddle Mord, Biorn Chestbutter and an extrav
curiosity-shop of names developed from noses, breeches, and th
seem more at home in the tepees of Rain-in-the-Face and S
Bull than as indicating eminent white men of a country
produced great literature. Omitting such uncouthness, Th
Karlsefni, besides notable Danish and Norwegian lines of de
had for father, Thord the son of Snorri, who was the son of T
and his wife Fridgerd, daughter of Kiarval (Carroll) a "ki
the Irish"—the active and formidable Cearbhall of Ossory co
porary with Alfred the Great.[1] We have already taken no
Gudrid's Gaelic descent.

It is a curious reflection that the first recorded white America
partly Celtic, both paternal and maternal. Perhaps it wou
stranger were this otherwise. Iceland was Irish and othe
Celtic to a degree rarely understood. Even the brother of th
settler brought Irish slaves with him, who revolted, leaving
name to the Westmanna (Westmen, Irishmen) islands, where
found a temporary refuge. Others were brought in afterwa
every stage, perhaps the most distinguished being Melkorka
kidnapped daughter of another Irish "King" Kiartan (pe
Cartan). She was bought by an Icelandic chief on the site of Be
Norway, passed for dumb through all the earlier years of her hu
tion, but died at last, respected, in her home, the ruins of which
shown centuries afterward as "Melkorka-stead." Her gra

[1] Eleanor Hull: Irish Episodes of Icelandic History. Saga Book of the
Club, vol. 3, p. 337.

[2] Laxdæla Saga. Proctor's transl., p. 27.

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narkable and least Scandinavian of the Eddaic poems to Iceland, suggested by a writer in the Encyclopedia Brittanica. Vigfusson [1] es the same view of their general origin in the eastern islands, without ascribing their introduction to Queen Aud,[2] and Bugge s presented the hypothesis again slightly modified. Her relatives d followers intermarried with most of the great Icelandic families d occupied the best lands. The names of Icelandic chieftains eady given will be readily recognized as Irish. The greatest of sagas, Nial's, contains a glowing tribute to King Brian Boru, as ll as the most vivid account in existence of his victory at Clontarf. e sagas are thickly sown with Irish names and allusions; the ndnamabook displays them in almost every paragraph of a long ccession; and one is tempted to think that by the opening of the venth century a fifth or a quarter of the Icelandic blood in all sses must have been Irish.

Thorfinn and Gudrid were married at Brattahlid after the Christs festivities following the autumn or late summer when they first t; and they sailed for Wineland the next spring—probably that the year 1003.

Although her influence seems to have been most active in causing d furthering this expedition, she is seldom mentioned in the saga til her return to Iceland—once as giving birth to Snorri, again as haps left at Straumey, while her husband went back with a party Hóp for three months; but a woman's part in such achievements ıld not often be spectacular nor strike a saga-man as demanding ord. The Flateybook saga adds a picture of Gudrid beside her ant's cradle in her palisaded Wineland home, entertaining a pious big-eyed visitor, who bore her own name and announced proaching danger, but was invisible to all other eyes. The Indian ack followed immediately. Reeves's index calls this visitor "Gud-

G. Vigfusson: Prolegomena of the Sturlunga Saga, p. 193.
S. Bugge: The Home of the Eddic Poems. Schofield's transl., Introduc-. p. xxiii.

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as testing her constancy of mind. Whether there were any tr this story or not, the attack seems to have been real, and one many ordeals through which Gudrid had to bring her little son. saw him grow to manhood in Iceland, worthily filling his fa place after Thorfinn died.

It will be seen that this little Snorri Thorfinnson, probably bc or near Passamaquoddy Bay, is no vanishing figure of histor pretty Virginia Dare, who came so much later to the lost colc Roanoke, and has left us only the pathetic mystery of her His descendants have been numerous in all succeeding cent including bishops, notable scholars, and other eminent men.

Gudrid's later career has been touched upon. It seems th made a pilgrimage to Rome and also lived for a time the life religious recluse, both according to the tenets and customs o period. She was widely known also for the aid she gave to chu convents, and charities. At every stage of her life we find woman of great helpfulness, power of attraction, force of char and upright, kindly, unsparing effort. Let us trust that this p is as true to historic fact as to the saga-writer's ideal of a feminine nature.

12.—LEIF AND HIS VOYAGES

Tradition gives us likewise the year 1000 for Leif's [1] uninte exploit, the finding of Wineland. The time is fixed also by the s taneous conversion of Iceland in that memorable year of "the cl of faith." He stands a "wise and stately" figure of history, Dr. Fiske, but his earlier adventures were neither exaltec generous.

Leif sailed from Greenland for Norway, perhaps early in by the direct route, skipping Iceland—an unprecedented att

[1] G. Storm: Studies on the Vineland Voyages. Mémoires Société Roya Antiquaires du Nord. 1888.

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m number. It is by no means certain that thou shalt find this to be the
er decision" said Thorgunna. "I shall put it to the proof, notwithstand-
" said Leif. [Then she notified him of their expected child, adding:]
nd though thou give this no heed, yet will I rear the boy, and send him to
in Greenland, when he shall be fit to take his place with other men. And
resee that thou wilt get as much profit from this son as is thy due from
our parting; moreover, I mean to come to Greenland myself before the
comes." Leif gave her a gold finger-ring, a Greenland wadmal mantle
a belt of walrus-tusk. This boy came to Greenland, and was called Thor-
. Leif acknowledged his paternity, and some men will have it that this
rgils came to Iceland in the summer before the Froda-wonder. However,
Thorgils was afterwards in Greenland, and there seemed to be something
altogether natural about him before the end came. Leif and his com-
ions sailed away from the Hebrides, and arrived in Norway in the autumn.

A Thorgunna, lately arrived in Iceland, is intimately connected h the portents of Frodis-water in the Eyrbyggja Saga—prodigies l hauntings charged to her occult power after death, and very ply impressing the popular imagination.

Of this sorry little romance or incidental tragedy little need be d. But we get a glimmering view of the harrowed soul of the saken woman, which was conceived of as inflicting prodigious nishment even after death.

However, having successfully left her out of the main current his story, " Leif went to the court of King Olaf Tryggvason, who ld see that Leif was a man of great accomplishments" and mptly converted him into a zealous Christian (Leif did not, how- r, make amends) and at last committed to him the conversion of other Greenlanders, at the same time that he sent the missionary ur on that errand to Iceland.

In the following very brief passage we have our only account his Wineland discovery, except the notices already quoted and is most natural that inquirers should direct all side lights on ry word of it, eager to extract the full meaning. Only we should vare of a strained ingenuity, the temptation to perverse original radox, or a too narrow and specialized view:

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people, telling them how much excellence and how great glory accompa the faith.

Leif was a man with a mission now, and it held him tightly to Greenland colony, which he probably never left again. If he b any house in Wineland, it must have been during the summer, w he was inspecting those "lands" with no thought of remaini but in the assurance of more engrossing work elsewhere for winter. In the warm months the ship itself or any temporary she would have sufficed, and if he had forgotten his duty as a vehicle the faith in any futile burst of architecture, be sure the priest, e at hand, would have reminded him. Presumably he did not bu

The natural meaning of "lands" would indicate several points observation along the sea front; which seems likely with most the summer ahead for gratifying a proper curiosity. Obviously must have approached some part of the coast and then followe one way or the other. It may be instructive to see what later na gators did on the same shore when similarly situated. Cabot Hudson[1] with a hundred years and more between them, took downward course perhaps as far as North Carolina, probably temp by southern conditions, which were progressively more genial, t turned about northward and in the end went home. Thorf Karlsefni did the same, but apparently did not reach so low a latitu We may reasonably conjecture that Leif turned southward, too. T supposition is fortified by the insistence of early geographers o probable connection between Wineland and Africa; by Thorfinn's e dent expectation of warmth and fertility; by the disappointment his party when the facts of Straumey fell short of the imagi standard; by the adjective "Good" traditionally applied to country, perhaps with the significance of blessed or supernally fo

[1] Hakluyt: Principal Voyages (1904), vol. 7, pp. 152, 154. Also Nansen: Northern Mists; taking John Cabot on toward Cape Cod.


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looted its wine-making cities; that later established itself as ruler in the two Sicilies and conquered the Canary Islands for Spain the race that had already supplied soldiers and sailors to mos countries of Europe. Miklegard (Constantinople) "the great city, the foremost center of the world's civilization for three centurie thereafter, was more familiar to their minds than it is to ours, and i a little time their men-at-arms were to be the palace-guards of it emperors. Besides these, we must remember the priest and teacher who joined him in Norway and who were presumably not Iceland but continental European of some kind. Further along in the saga we find other outland ingredients, for:

It was when Leif was with King Olaf Tryggvason, and he made him pro claim Christianity to Greenland, *that the king gave him two Gaels;* the man name was Haki, and the woman's Hækia. The king advised Leif to hav recourse to these people, if he should stand in need of fleetness, for they wer swifter than deer. . . . . They were clad in a garment, which they calle "kiafal," which was so fashioned, that it had a hood at the top, was open a the sides, was sleeveless, and was fastened between the legs with buttons an loops, while elsewhere they were naked.

This affidavit-like verbal photography and eye for costume mar the description as by the hand that drew Thorbiorg, yet it wa probably only the hand of a romancer. They were afterward se to find the grapes and wheat for Karlsefni in all their semi-nud picturesqueness. I have elsewhere repeatedly indicated a belief tha this story as presented is worse than apocryphal.

No doubt both Tyrker of the Flatey saga and this Haki have a aggressively mythical air. The Wineland products no doubt im pressed popular fancy and may have seemed to call for specia distinction in the matter of their finding; but whether both or eithe of these stories be accurate, or wholly invented, or relate to matter of fact ill understood, they reveal a general knowledge that these earl

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Norsemen, coming from Greenland, were delighted with their pr
fusion and went no farther. Now I do not know what sort of wi
may be made from cranberries, but the prospect is unpleasing. It
true enough that beverages with hyphenated names are evolved
divers rural districts and old fashioned households from curran
elderberries, blackberries, wild cherries and the like; and son
people have experienced them. Every such name, for examp
gooseberry-wine, testifies to the pre-existence of real wine as
standard, and to the fact of feeble imitation. Are these the fru
from which the stout Danish king declared "the best of wine" cou
be made? Can we imagine these Icelandic broadswordsmen
armor growing ecstatic over the prospect of berry decoction
Would it have been possible, even in later and milder days, to ha
sustained on them the "true vinous enthusiasm" which Dr. Saint
bury celebrates and which roared through "the tumultuous chorus
of Headlong Hall"? Professor Fernald observes the phenomen
too much through the spectacles of the dry-leaf collector and spe
men man, omitting the greater part of eleventh century Norse hum
nature. These men of Greenland and Iceland were after intoxican
Furthermore, the Ericsfirth region was a berry-country, no less th
Labrador. Even 250 miles farther up the coast, Davis[2] found re
currants growing wild near the end of the sixteenth century, a
Dr. Rink[3] attests the great practical value to the inhabitants of t
crowberry-crop in southern Greenland at the end of the nineteen
century. He says that the cowberries though plentiful are not eaten.
it not at all believable that men should sail out of one profusion
small fruit into another,[4] like in kind, but inferior and despised
home, and trumpet their experience abroad as something wonderf

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[1] The Plants of Wineland. Rhodora, Feb. 1910.

[2] The Voyages and Works of John Davis, edited by A. H. Markham, 18

[3] H. J. Rink: Danish Greenland, pp. 86, 88.

[4] Nansen, in stating this, seems to have confused crowberries with cowberri
but his argument is sound.

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we all know what currant-bushes are, and the other suggested competitors hardly equal their size. Would the old Norsemen have felt any close analogy between a fruit as big as a pea, growing on a small shrub and another as large as a pigeon's egg, hanging from a conspicuous feature of the woodlands? Their descendants among us do not seem to observe such matters differently from other people.

Among Dr. Storm's notes there is one curious instance of a Nova Scotian, who referred to certain grapes as "wine-berries." I take this to relate to our common tart squirrel-grape, about the size of a Zante-currant and barely edible when quite ripe, though chiefly useful for jelly, and presumably capable of yielding a berry-wine or other dubious beverage. Dr. Storm's witnesses probably establish the occasional occurrence of this little wild grape in Nova Scotia a few years ago, if not now; but no doubt Prof. Fernald is right in holding that it cannot have been plentiful. Yet, however abundant, it would be irrelevant. Not such were the bountiful grapes which King Sweyn commended to Adam of Bremen, which the sagas celebrated, and which Leif Ericsson first found.

The larger wild grapes, it appears, are divided into several species of varying habitat in New England, nowhere passing the Bay of Fundy. Gomez[1] may have found them on the Penobscot about 1525, as Champlain heard of them in 1605 on the St. John, where they have been made into wine in recent years,[2] and reported them plentiful near Saco. Lescarbot,[3] who was with him, corroborates this, declaring that they grew as large as plums at Richmond Island; but he relates a projected experiment of their apothecary to introduce grape

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[1] S. E. Dawson: The St. Lawrence, its Basin, p. 102.

[2] Haliburton: A Search for Lost Colonies. Pop. Sci. Mo., vol. 26, p. 40.

[3] M. Lescarbot: Nova Francia. Erondelle's transl., pp. 93, 101. I have mistaken one of our small wild plums for such a grape, the tree and vine being neighbors.

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of highest trees and these full of clusters of grapes in their kind, how
draped and shaded soever from the sun and though never pruned nor manu
I dare say it that we have eaten there *as full and luscious a grape as in
villages between Paris and Amiens and have drunk often of the rath wine w
Dr. Bohune and other of our people have made full as good as your Fr
British wines.* Twenty gallons at one time have sometimes been made, wit
any other help than crushing the grapes in the hand, which letting to settle
or six days hath in the drawing forth proved strong and heady.

This would seem to dispose of Dr. Nansen's suggestion that I
and others had neither appliances nor leisure for wine-making.

Possibly, like the Norsemen, the Virginians overrated this vint
It is more to the purpose to note the effect of these wine-yiel
wild-grapes on the minds of early explorers and colonizers; and t
with so many centuries between them, both apply the same pr
to the same thing. "Strong and heady" no doubt had much to
with the excellence ascribed.

These grapes are especially important to our present research,
only because they gave North America its first name (unless
except the more dubious Great Ireland) but because they are
best clew to one of the "lands" that Leif discovered. Being
or last where fox grapes were abundant, he must have reac
southern New England at least, more likely New Jersey, or even
regions about the Chesapeake. Remembering Cabot and Hud

[1] Leif's crew, like our people of the District of Columbia and neighbo
states, doubtless did not discriminate, except between the small berry-like
(which would not be highly valued where better berries were plent
and the large kind, good for table-fruit and for wine. We call the la
"fox grapes." I have picked and eaten them on a low island of the Anac
near Benning's bridge, and only a few feet from a great bed of wild ri
spot probably within the limits of Washington City. More commonly
occur on our hills. A few years ago a great number were gathered near
Conduit Road for our household use. Civilization clears them away; y
have found them, both green and ripe, near the lower reservoir in a d
thicket on two occasions in August, 1911.

[2] W. Strachey: The Historie of Travaile into Virginia, p. 120.

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Of course we must not forget that the range of a plant may change with time, a lowering or rising of the average temperature being an important factor in determining this. Indeed, in the case of the squirrel-grape a withdrawal from Nova Scotia seems to have really occurred within a hundred years. But the disappearance may be due to their sparseness and to human interference in clearing ground, rather than to a very few feet of crustal uplift or other change in conditions. During the previous 800 years, man would not be a factor, for the Indians of the region were not agricultural nor likely to work, except in fishing and hunting, beyond the absolute needs of their canoes and camp-fires. The seasons, too, during the last 300 years appear pretty constant in quality, except where modified a little by shearing off the forests. The few weather hints of the earlier Norse sagas tell the same story of relative temperature north and south, although the upper border of the grape-belt may have receded a little.

One might fancy that the increasing severity in Greenland's climate, which Ivar Bardsen noted about midway between our time and that of Eric the Red (though Dr. Nansen doubts it), would necessarily be repeated along our coast from Labrador to Cape Ann, by reason of the augmented volume and coldness of the southward-running Arctic current. But the problem is not so simple, for a mild Greenland season has been found to make a chill one in Labrador, as Dr. Fiske[1] has noted, by loosening a greater mass of ice from its moorings to float southward. On the whole, we may more safely assume approximately the same climate as at present and the same area of abundance for fox-grapes in the year 1000 until we have some proof of change.

The "wild wheat" of the saga will be dealt with more fully in a later chapter. If construed as "strand oats," for example by Prof. Fernald, it clearly contradicts the statements about grapes

[1] The Discovery of America.

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dence. Indeed, Cartier's attention in 1535 was attracted to it (sauvage) on the southern shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence already stated he says it is like rye, and plainly distinguishes be it and maize, which he first saw soon afterward. Leif might found wild rice at intervals anywhere below the Kennebec.

The statement that *some* of the timbers were large enough used for building may seem to imply a lightly timbered regio Leif merely took "specimens," and the word "some" dou relates to this little miscellaneous collection and not to the g forestry of Wineland or Markland. The use referred to would ably be at Brattahlid, or at least under the direction of Eric,[1] ideas on such subjects were massive, as we gather from the hun cubic-feet dimensions of his house-wall stones. Growing trees reasonable bulk and height might readily have been found with limits of the present Maritime Provinces; and Newfoundland have been mainly a forest, as were most of the seaboard regions t

There has been much discussion over the puzzling "mausur w Rafn thought it especially indicated "bird's-eye maple," fou Marthas Vineyard and elsewhere. This is probably our most b ful native wood, having a delicate wavy and dotted grain. Fernald in his Rhodora article identifies mausur positively "canoe birch." In Scandinavia some kind of birch must have most often the source of this ornamental carving wood, for b are the most plentiful hardwood trees of northern countries. on Grand Manan, where the white birch is everywhere in evi the comparatively few maples would more readily yield a specimen; and knotty parts are to be found in either. Th veined wood," irrespective of species, is the real meaning appear the following words of said article: "Similar growths have some been found on the maple, horse-chestnut, cherry and aspen, and

[1] H. J. Rink: Danish Greenland. Stated as 6 feet by 4 and "of like thick

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ve have no further clue. He touched a country of warmth and
nty, where wild fox-grapes abounded. The other products which
found were proper to that territory, although they may have
n picked up beyond it. From allusions later in the saga, and
tements elsewhere, we learn that he named this region Wineland,
not necessarily with any reference to goodness or blessedness
ept so far as he may have held wine to be good and blest.

Dr. Nansen discredits this achievement of Leif, though accepting saga's previous statement that he sailed from Greenland directly he Hebrides and Norway, and applauding it as among the greatest nautical exploits. But surely this bold navigator would be the y man to attempt a repetition of the feat, sailing the other way; what could be more natural than his storm-driven landfall on an expected shore? We do not need to go into mythology or folk-es for precedents; such incidents are there also because they first pened to men in reality; and they keep on happening. When that ich began as fact occurs as fact again, it cannot reasonably be eached by any intervening or parallel play of fancy.

Leif's items are meager, but so far as they go they are absolutely roborative. Evidently someone visited our coast somewhere ween Casco Bay and the Chesapeake, touching also at Newfound-d and Labrador. Whether the voyager were Leif, or Biarni, or ther may not be practically important, but Leif is named as coverer in the best accredited saga, and we may as well adhere him until a more plausible candidate is found.

13.—WITH THORFINN AND GUDRID TO THE BAY OF FUNDY

glance at a map of these regions shows two methods of approach nainland America from southern Greenland—the direct route over and the slow but nearly safe and sure northwestern journey along

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sea to no purpose. Very likely it sent Bishop Eric and his comp to the bottom, destroying with them all hope of a Christianiz organized Wineland.

Thorfinn Karlsefni, though an enterprising man, probably his especial reputation for success to his very great care in n sure. Like all such, he had the wit to profit by the mistal others. He was a seasoned navigator who had thus far a mishap, through knowing how to humor the northern seas. over, in Red Eric he had the counsel of the foremost explorer world, who must have pondered long on the causes of hi Thorstein's failure and the best way to avoid its repetition in again. If he had not seen—as already suggested—the main A can shore opposite Greenland in the course of his first very thc three years' explorations, his indomitable wilderness-ranger Thorhall the hunter, must surely have been frequently up abo straits and would be charged season after season to bring him mation. So active a mind as Eric's anchored physically by incr years and injuries, could not fail to busy itself especially wi geography of the lands beyond that water and their relation tc which Leif had seen. The coming of driftwood to him from sor known quarter would be a continual reminder and incitement. stein was dead, Leif was immersed in aggressive Christianity; brilliant daughter-in-law Gudrid, her husband and Leif's br Thorvald, Eric the explorer would naturally see the best hope c stituting success for failure.

Thorfinn's actual route is carefully given. It was from Eri to Gudrid's former home near Lysufirth in the smaller settle about five degrees farther west and a long distance above the ju of the western water with the Atlantic. Next they went to " Island," according to the Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefni, or " th Islands," according to the Saga of Eric the Red, which is ger the safer guide where details differ. No doubt Disco was " Bear-Island " (Biarney), as Graah,[1] the first official explo

[1] Exploration of the East Coast of Greenland, before cited.

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have no warrant to go so far. A more moderate conjecture points to the Greenland islands near the present Godthaab, where Davis was attacked by Eskimo nearly six centuries afterward. They would make a good taking-off point. It was only necessary to await a strong steady wind from the north. Having this behind them, like migratory birds of long travel, Karlsefni and his company sped down " southward," or a little west of southward, on their way.

One hundred and sixty men and several women besides Gudrid went with him—perhaps children, too, as did Snorri in returning—for families took all manner of chances in those reckless days. " All kinds of live stock" owned by Greenlanders accompanied these colonists in three, or possibly four, large vessels. Clearly they intended permanent settlement.

We must not call them viking-ships, which never sailed out of Iceland or Greenland; though Dr. Fiske[2] inadvertently styles Eric the Red " a viking," in praising his explorations, and Colonel Higginson[3] devotes much space to an account of Norse marauders, to make us acquainted with the people who tried at great risk and through much hardship to settle America. The only enlightenment is collateral, and the general effect is misleading.

Such utterances grow out of a confusion like that between sea-king and viking, which gives the first syllable of the latter its broad current mispronunciation. Three types must be distinguished: the sea-king, the viking and the settled man of the north who created what prosperity was going and offered the best hope for the future. The first—for example Olaf the White Queen Aud's husband—made conquests by his navy, and differed from other navy-wielders only in

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[1] J. T. Smith: The Discovery of America by the Norsemen in the Tenth Century. Also the Minn. Hist. Soc. Report, already cited p. 13. (His map with additions.)

[2] The Discovery of America.

[3] Higginson and MacDonald: History of the United States. Ed. 1905, pp. 25 *et seq.*

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exploit this wide opportunity. But excitement and yet mor prospect of booty were at the bottom of it all. In proportion a achievements occurred nearer home, they were regarded with disfavor. Especially was this true in that northern island whicl colonized by picked men choosing exile rather than submission, v natures also were modified from the beginning by other blo more ripe and gracious culture. The home-raider was hel wholly admirable in Norway; he became in Iceland (see Landn "the most wrongful of men" and "a viking and a scoundrel." so, Ospak[1] of the northern Ere and his merry men, owned a lie ant, one Raven, adequately stigmatized in another great saga as named the viking, he was nought but an evil doer." There is no promise in the characterization of such folk by the early heroic l ture. The teaching is often by example rather than precept, by matic exhibition rather than denunciation; but we are expected t that the boiling alive[2] of professional bullies might be overlook not applauded, and that almost the very worst type of man w who brutally afflicted his neighbors, and thus acquired their and goods. To the Icelander, if there were one kind of robber more intolerable than another, it was the local amphibious vi Rather early in the prosperity of the island, it necessarily ma end of him. But that "viking" should be anything but a syn for aquatic hero in these northern lands hardly seems to have gested itself to most English-writing historians. The sea-king the viking were the greater nuisance and the less of their period there was this to be said for the former, that he revived in form the order which he overturned and often was a factor in imp ment, whereas the viking was merely destructive, except in his home or within the limits of his predatory association.

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[1] The Eyrbyggja Saga, Morris and Magnusson's transl., pp. 164, 291.
[2] Eyrbyggja Saga, p. 70.

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scythes are asway in the field; Hallgerda's first husband is killed, her contrivance, over a quarrel as to whether he or another can b handle codfish; and the whole troop of Flosi the Burner postpone of the most notable recorded instances of Norse vengeance until t have properly completed the haying. The old time Icelander wa very practical, if a very belligerent and litigious, hero, with genu honesty as he saw it, and a real intention to be law-abiding in the ma though abiding a most topsy-turvy kind of law.

Yet, while not a viking, he might have as good ships or bet Such were the "dragons" or "serpents," built for dangerous haza and important missions, for withstanding the worst onset of the ments—at need for hand to hand boarding with sword and axe spear, also for the most effective pursuit or escape.

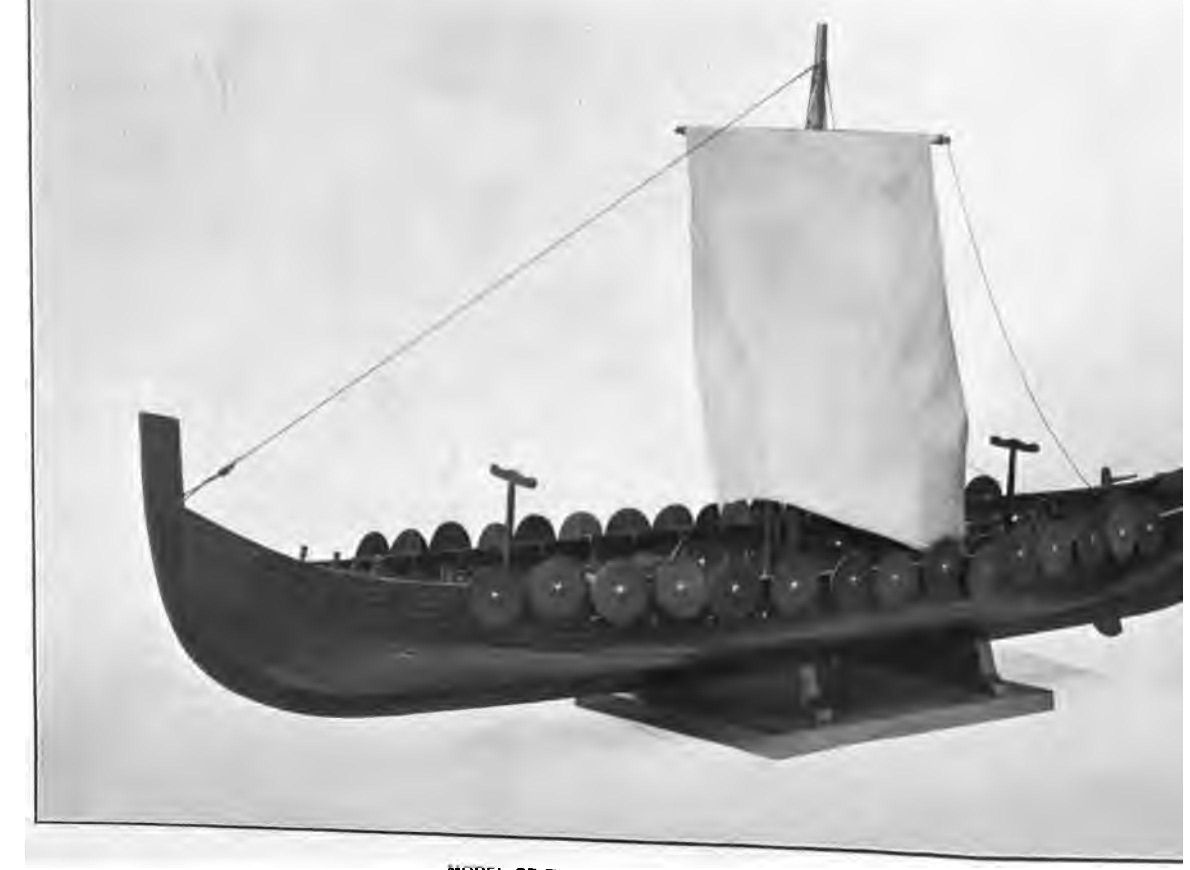
Of course they were not the only kind. A rather clumsy dilatory craft [1] was in use more or less for ordinary trading purpo Its modern representative was pointed out to Professor Packa by a Norwegian, and taken as an approximate standard in the sail calculations of the former for the time needed in the passage betw Newfoundland and Greenland across the dreaded Ginnungag But one of the exploring vessels had already borne Thorbiorn Gudrid with their fortunes to Greenland, when a dismal death, life, honor and prosperity, were in the cast of a die, and all that owned had gone to the venture; a second was Thorfinn's own; a th belonged to Biarni, a chivalric chieftain of the highest personal pr and most exacting followers. Such craft would more likely be of dragon or serpent pattern, beautiful open ships "which were proba stronger and more seaworthy and certainly much swifter than

[1] Heimskringla. Laing's transl., vol. 1, p. 441.
[2] A. S. Packard: The Labrador Coast, pp. 24, 26.

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on the celebrated Bayeux tapestry. . . . . This was not one of the very larg ships, for some of them had thirty oars on each side (instead of its sixte and vessels carrying from twenty to twenty-five were not uncommon. . . Probably the sail was much like those still carried by large open boats in t country, a single square on a mast forty feet long.

Thus equipped, Thorfinn could go quite literally on the wings the wind. Henceforward, at least as far as the Bay of Fundy, have the benefit of their log and sailing directions. Leif has giv us no such aid, but there was no such motive in his case. He h stumbled on his great good fortune, and probably acted mainly fr impulse in skirting the shore awhile, and touching here and there specimens, before hurrying home to evangelize Greenland. Thorfi however, aimed at permanency, and it was most important to n closely the route which must be retraced in sending tidings a establishing communication with the parent colony, and which reinforcements must follow. It is plain sailing in the saga as reality, with merely some uncertainty as to the exact intervals of ti and distance intended. In that the swiftness of the wind-driv ships of course must be considered.

The saga tells us:

Thence they sailed away beyond the Bear Isles with northerly winds. Th were out two doegr; then they discovered land, and rowed thither in bo and explored the country, and found there many flat stones [hellur], so lar that two men could well spurn soles upon them [*i. e.,* lie at full length up them sole to sole]; there were many Arctic foxes there. They gave a na to the country and called it Helluland.

Thence they sailed two "doegr," and bore away from the south toward south-east and they found a wooded country and on it many animals; an isla lay there off the land toward the south-east; they killed a bear on this, a called it afterwards Biarney [Bear Isle]; but the country Markland [Fore land]. When two "doegr" had elapsed, they descried land, and they sai off this land; there was a cape [ness] to which they came. They beat into wind along this coast, having the land upon the starboard [right] side. T

[1] Heimskringla, Laing's Introduction, vol. I, p. 160.

[2] Higginson and MacDonald: History of the United States Ed. 1905, 30 *et seq.*

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indigenous products. The original narrative proceeds, beginning with a repetition which is enough of itself to show the break made by the foreign matter:

Karlsefni and his followers held on their way, until they came where the coast was fiord-cut (or indented with bays). They stood into a bay with their ships. There was an island out at the mouth of the bay, about which there were strong currents, wherefore they called it Straumey [stream island]. There were so many eider ducks ["birds," Thorfinn Karlsefni][3] on the island that it was scarcely possible to walk for the eggs. They sailed through the firth, and called it Straumfiord [stream firth] and carried their cargoes ashore from the ships, and established themselves there. . . . . There were mountains there and the country round about was fair to look upon. They did nought but explore the country. There was tall grass there. They remained there during the winter, and they had a hard winter, for which they had not prepared, and they grew short of food, and the fishing fell off. Then they went out to the island, in the hope that something might be forthcoming in the way of fishing or flotsam. There was little food left, however, although their live-stock fared well there [*i. e.*, on the island]. Then they invoked God, that he might send them food, but they did not get response so soon as they needed. Thorhall disappeared. They searched for him three half days and on the fourth day Karlsefni and Biarni found him on a projecting crag [note, of the island]. He was lying there and looking up at the sky, with his eyes, nostrils and mouth wide-stretched, and was scratching himself, and muttering something. They asked him why he had gone thither; he replied that it did not concern any one; he told them not to be surprised at this; adding that he had lived sufficiently long to render it unnecessary for them to take counsel for him. They asked him then to go home with them and he did so. Soon after this a whale appeared there, and they went to it, and flensed it, and no one could tell what manner of whale it was. Karlsefni had much knowledge of whales, but he did not know this one. When the cooks had prepared it, they ate of it, and were all made ill by it. Then Thorhall, approaching them, says "Did not the Red-beard prove more helpful than your Christ? This is my

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[1] Olson substitutes "fiord-cut," as more exact, for Reeves' "indented with bays."

[2] A. M. Reeves: The Finding of Wineland the Good, pp. 42–43.

[3] Compare Bird Island of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, where Packard in 186 found the whole top white with nesting birds. In 1860 about 50,000 pairs of gannets nested there, 5,000 in 1874; 50 in 1882, and their nests had been rifled when found. Funk Island off Newfoundland on the Atlantic side was also often called Bird Island for like reasons.

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able to explore both. Thorhall prepared for his voyage out below the island, having only nine men in his party, for all of the remainder of his company went with Karlsefni.

Of this picturesque dissentient and minority-leader we hear earlier in the saga:

Thorhall was called the Huntsman; he had long lived with Eric, engaging in fishing and hunting expeditions during the summer, and had many things under his charge. Thorhall was a man of great stature, swart and giant-like; he was rather stricken with years, overbearing in manner, taciturn, and usually a man of few words, underhanded in his dealings, and yet given to offensive language, and always ready to stir up evil; he had given little heed to the true faith after its introduction into Greenland. Thorhall was not very popular, but Eric had long been accustomed to seek his advice. He was in the same ship with Thorvald and his companions because he had extensive knowledge of the uninhabited regions.

Continuing the narrative:

And one day when Thorhall was carrying water aboard the ship, and was drinking, he recited this ditty:[1]

"When I came, these brave men told me,
Here the best of drink I'd get,
Now with water-pail behold me,—
Wine and I are strangers yet.
Stooping at the spring, I've tested
All the wine this land affords;
Of its vaunted charms divested,
Poor indeed are its rewards."

Then they put to sea and Karlsefni accompanies them out off the island. Before they hoisted sail, Thorhall recited this ditty:

"Comrades, let us now be faring
Homeward to our own again!
Let us try the sea-steed's daring,
Give the chafing courser rein.
Those who will may bide in quiet,
Let them praise their chosen land,
Fasting on a whale-steak diet,
In their home of Wonder-strand."

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[1] A. M. Reeves: The Finding of Wineland the Good.

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bay behind Straumey, before they moved out to that island in th
winter: for we are told later that "Snorri, Karlsefni's son wa
born the first autumn and was three winters old when they (finally
went away." He may have been about six months old when the part
divided, and "Karlsefni cruised southward off the coast with Snorr
and Biarni and their people."

No doubt there was hope of establishing their home permanentl
in some spot which would better fulfill the expectations aroused b
Leif. The absence lasted however, only a year; making an episod
presenting so many special problems that it must be treated separatel

Returning from this southern sojourn:

They now arrived again at Streamfirth where they found great abundanc
of all those things of which they stood in need. Some men say, that Biarn
and Gudrid remained behind there with a hundred men, and went no furthe
while Karlsefni and Snorri proceeded to the southward with forty men, tarry
ing at Hóp barely two months and returning again the same summer. Kar
sefni then set out with one ship, in search of Thorhall and Huntsman, but th
greater part of the company remained behind. They sailed to the northwar
around Keelness, and then bore to the westward, having land to the larboar
[left]. There were wooded wildernesses there; and when they had journeye
a considerable distance, a river flowed down from the east toward the wes
They sailed into the mouth of the river, and lay to by the southern bank.

It happened one morning, that Karlsefni and his companions discovered in a
open space in the woods above them, a speck, which seemed to shine towar
them, and they shouted at it: it stirred, and it was a Uniped[1] [onefooter]
who skipped down to the bank of the river by which they were lying. Thor
vald, a son of Eric the Red, was sitting at the helm, and the Uniped shot a
arrow into his inwards. Thorvald drew out the arrow and exclaimed: "Ther
is fat around my paunch; we have hit upon a fruitful country, and yet we ar

[1] Nansen: In Northern Mists; contains a picture of a harmless-looking on
copied from the well-known Hereford map. The fancy may have come fro
the south; but Norsemen were ready to see Unipeds even in Scandinavia o
slight provocation—much more on an inner shore of a land of mystery an
dread.



their men any longer. They concluded that the mountains of Hóp, and t which they had now found, formed one chain, and this appeared to b because they were about an equal distance removed from Straumfiord in e direction. They intended to explore all the mountains, those which we Hóp and those which they discovered. They sailed back and passed the winter at Straumfiord.

Then the men began to grow quarrelsome, of which the women were cause; and those who were without wives, endeavored to seize upon the v of those who were married, whence the greatest trouble arose.

When they sailed away from Wineland, they had a southerly wind, ar came upon Markland, where they found five Skrellings, of whom one bearded, two were women, and two were children. Karlsefni and his p took the boys, but the others escaped, and these Skrellings sank down int earth. They bore the lads away with them, and taught them to speak, they were baptized. They said, that their mother's name was Vætilldi, their father's Uvægi. They said, that kings governed the land of the S lings, one of whom was called Avalldamon, and the other Valldidida. stated, that there were no houses there, and that the people lived in or holes.

Then follows the information before mentioned about a pos Ireland the Great; also the statement of their return to Greenl where they passed the winter, going on to Iceland the next sea

The little epic pendant of Biarni's death, the experience of Gu with her mother-in-law, and the genealogy of "Herra Hauk Lawman" end the saga.

Dr. Nansen has noticed the insertion of The Gaelic Run episode in the wrong place, but apparently misses the signific of the words about entering a bay which precede and follow it. dently there was but one bay, repeated by the interpolator to kee the story or in mere carelessness. These were intending set guided by Eric's advice and plan of penetrating deep inlets and es lishing themselves in fertile, ample, grassy borders. Passamaqu Bay, just beyond Grand Manan, would be the first to tempt them would say.

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minor items, except for identification or incidental entertainme
Again, wherever the explorers follow the coast for any great distan
its notable characteristics are carefully given; so, when these do
appear, we may be sure they sailed out of clear sight of land.

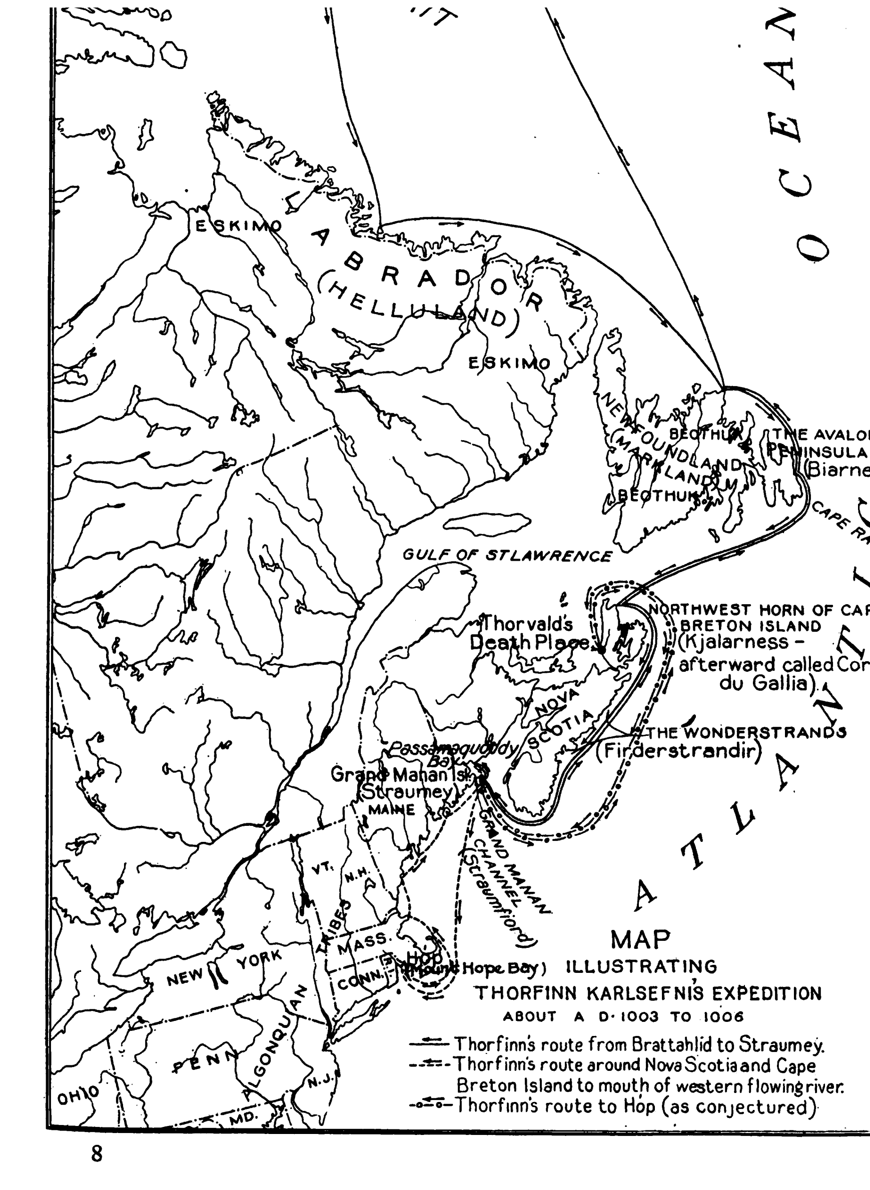
We may find something artificial in the periodicity of the "t
doegr" interval, once repeated in the Saga of Thorfinn Karlse
twice in the more precise companion Saga of Eric the Red; a
undoubtedly such conventional divisions are a stock property of
sea-exploring tales. Thus there are three periods in the outwa
voyage of Edrisi's[1] Magrurin, first about eleven days, then twel
and then twelve again. But in tracing a coast for suitable settlem
sites, a periodical inspection might be planned from the outset for
earlier part of the work by way of saving time, and to keep
record brief, as it should be if in runic characters. This plan wo
answer very well until they should reach habitable country, wh
would require to be examined more minutely; and, in point of fa
we hear no more of the "doegr" after the landing at Keelne
It will not do to say that every statement of regularly divided hum
undertaking is untrue because regular divisions occur also in stor
mainly fanciful. Thorfinn comes before us as a wary, systematic, a
successful personage, and the method here indicated seems quite
character. The parallel with myths and folk-tales has little val
except where the events narrated and divided are clearly fortuito

Newfoundland cannot be Helluland (as some used to think)
several reasons; in particular, it is not severe, bare, and stony enou
and has far too few Arctic foxes. Prof. Packard,[2] who h
scientifically studied these regions, declares for the eastern face
Labrador, perhaps "near Cape Harrison or along the coast to t
northward." Sir Clements Markham,[3] another and very compet

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[1] Edrisi: Géographie. Jaubert's transl., vol. 2, p. 27.
[2] The Labrador Coast, p. 11.
[3] Remarks on Dr. Nansen's paper. London Geogr. Journ., Dec. 1911.

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"two" for seven. But this is purely hypothetical, involves a re: prodigious time-allowance and would call for too much later rep tion of verbal errors, as well as too great length for the entire jourr

It may be well to see what has been actually recorded in m recent times. A writer on long distance lake-racing in "Yachtin for June, 1910, page 407, cites the "Vencidor" as making 331 m in 34 hours, with wind astern or nearly so, a third of the dista being "through rockstrewn channels, where reefs and islands furr continually shifting currents and high shores give baffling slants wind." This is nearly at the rate of ten miles an hour, and perh we may fairly suppose twelve or more for the two-thirds of o water. Again, on the Atlantic between Nassau and Havana, learn;[3] "The 'America' logged a distance of 400 miles in 40 ho 260 of which was made in the first twenty-four hours." This see a reasonably fair comparison, the voyage being in about the sa direction as Thorfinn's and for only a little less distance, though much more southern latitudes. No doubt the difference between distance made in the first day and that in the second is to be explai by some change either in the course or the wind. We are giver understand that there was neither in the Norsemen's case.

Now this schooner-yacht "America" was beaten by "the sloop 'Maria,'" which "walked away from her"[4] in sea-sailing bef the wind, and we are assured by the same work that this feat wo probably have been repeated as often as undertaken and at any ti Further, we find that the proportions of the "Maria," 110 feet by feet 8 inches, and 6 feet greatest draft, were substantially th

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[1] Labrador, the Country and the People, by W. T. Grenfell and others, c taining Wallace's historical monograph.

[2] Studies on the Vineland Voyages, already cited.

[3] G. Bleekman and P. Newton, The Blue Ribbon of the Sea, p. 60.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

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possible, but it would seem that the interval stated might well br
them to the forested front of Newfoundland near Bonavista E
allowing for loss of speed in change of course. The experiment mi
be made by some of our enterprising yachtsmen and would
watched with interest.

Newfoundland has some claims to be called Markland still, acco
ing to Bishop Howley's[1] description, even most of its northern p
being fairly well wooded. We have no reason to infer any other asp
then, excepting that the forest would be more general and more hea
Whitbourne[2] early in the seventeenth century averred that "
country can show pine and birch trees of such height and greatne
and Blome,[3] about the same time, testified to the "abundance
stately trees fit for timber." The vegetation of Markland has perh
hardly changed at all, and the abundance of wild game mentio
by the saga has always characterized the island.

Thorfinn could not be expected to know it as such, having q
skipped the Strait of Belle Isle in the loop around the benc
coast from upper or middle Labrador to middle or lower Newfou
land; but if they had followed this closely, it might have made l
difference, for both Cortereal and Davis (according to Walla
took that passage for a mere cul-de-sac, like Hamilton's Inlet far
north.

The island called Biarney to the southeast of Markland may
the large Avalon peninsula, even now almost cut off by water.
it were not quite wholly cut off then, it might well appear so, be
incompletely investigated. We must not charge any early voyag
with modern knowledge of geography. Besides instances ab

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[1] Vinland Vindicated, already cited.
[2] A Discovery of Newfoundland, p. 10.
[3] R. Blome: Isles and Territories. p. 1 (325).

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ground dwellings[5] remind one of the Eskimo legends concer "inlanders," presumably northern Indians, Nascopie or Ti The "beard" of the escaping man was possibly a mask or s misunderstood garment, though the practice of plucking out l proves that a beard might grow on Amerinds, and other (bearded individuals are reported along our coast. It is true that Labrador Eskimo were contending for foothold on the upper N foundland coast early in the sixteenth century, and may have thus engaged in the eleventh, but their presence in wooded reg seems unlikely. We can make little of these Marklanders, perl because the Icelanders tell us so little that is trustworthy about tl and the English and French so little, trustworthy or not, about Beothuk.[6] When we first really see the latter, they are an inte tribe hiding from the encompassing peoples, "altogether in the n and west part" says Whitbourne. Cartwright[7] (1770) says summers often passed without one being seen; and they kept over-prudent habit till the end, which was probably a good deal l than the last known death (of a captive in 1829). One corpse found aboveground in 1886; but it can hardly have lasted fifty ye Cormack,[8] who reached their home on Red Indian Lake in 1 thought the remnant of them hidden, not dead. Their arts, stat and prowess may indicate some infusion of Norse blood.

In this identification of Newfoundland with Markland, Pack Nansen, and Storm and other authorities all agree; and there

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[1] M. F. Howley: The Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland.

[2] Cartier's Voyages: Orig. Narr. Amer. Hist.; also J. Winsor: From Ca to Frontenac.

[3] H. J. Rink: Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo, p. 74.

[4] W. Thalbitzer: The Eskimo Language, p. 20.

[5] H. J. Rink: Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo, pp. 262, 298.

[6] Alan MacDougall: The Beothuk Indians. Trans. Royal Inst. of Ca 1890–1891, p. 8.

[7] Capt. Cartwright's Journal, republished 1911, first 20 pages.

[8] Cormack: Journey in Search of the Red Indians in Newfound Edinb. Philos. Journ., vol. 6, 1828–1829, p. 327.

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complained that they had neglected this better course to Wineland, and insisted on going back to try it; and this theory of his, with other expressions like sailing "around Keelness," imply some notion of the great Gulf beyond the long promontory's tip. The Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefni does not specify the time consumed before making the new landfall and is not so clear in its indication of crossing the intervening water. Furthermore, it mentions sailing south along the land; but we must not be too literal about directions. We find Champlain saying south, when he clearly means southeast, and repeatedly parting company with the map in such details, though he had a compass to guide him and was unusually careful. With Thorfinn it was guess-work and sun-piloting or star-piloting; and they have many fogs in those regions. The two parallel versions agree substantially, here as elsewhere, and help out each other's details; but that of Eric the Red is, I think, a little the clearer.

Whether they used up 48 hours or not in the passage, they had to "beat back" a rather long way into the wind, or we should hardly have heard of the disadvantage; so they must have been well on toward the tip of Keelness before turning to tack eastward through the strait, with, of course, the land on their right. This shore was that on which they are said to have found the keel of a ship, washed down presumably by the Labrador current, perhaps a relic of Eric's broken fleet. Those investigators who have tried to pick out a particular point as Keelness are clearly wrong; for Stefánsson's equivalent "promontorium Winelandium" is a great though upwardly tapering body of land, and the suffix "ness" is to be understood, as in Snaefelsness and generally in Iceland, to include the whole jutting area of western Cape Breton Island. We have indeed a similar use of "Neck" along Chesapeake Bay, for it means in common parlance not the connecting isthmus nor any spot or tooth of land, but always the

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Cabot; though they multiply outlying islands. Mercator, 1567 to the other extreme, however, by setting it well out from shor the significant inscription "Drogio dit Cornu du Gallia." Thus geographers knew Cape Breton's insularity and some did not a century's opportunity to ascertain.

A different explanation of the name Keelness is offered l Flateybook Saga, namely, that it has the form of a ship's keel; ai records an observed resemblance as old as the fourteenth ce A great part of the island is hollow now. When the lowlying eastern side was under water, the resemblance of the remaining on the western side to a keel would be more obvious. But since was a Kjalarness in Iceland, probably well known to some of explorers, we may safely assume a simple transfer of the name. saga laid stress on this northern horn of Wineland, for no nav who might follow could miss finding a feature so conspicuous.

The course of the ships is explained by it at every turn, as t it were a main pivot of proceedings in that quarter. It is c starboard in the saga as the ships go south along the coast; c larboard as Thorfinn long afterward reverses the course to pass it into the Gulf after the missing Thorhall; he anchors on its w side in a westward flowing river (the Margarie or the Mabou passes northward along it in leaving that region. Each point is with precision almost as if dictating items for a map. The or narrator evidently intended that there should be no misundersta of this great peninsula; but every one is at the mercy of ma and the centuries.

There is a further argument for Cape Breton Island as Ke in the corresponding position of the tip of the former and tl Stefánsson's Promontorium Winelandium as compared with th tude of Britain and Ireland. Also, the Stefánsson map has a of elevations running up into it, quite inconsistent with Cape

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[1] For example Lake, Griffing and Stevenson. Atlas of Kent and Queen Counties, Maryland, p. 30 and elsewhere.

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and occasional inlets to break the monotony of desolation and loneli-ness. Few things in nature are more impressive, but it is not a cheer-ing impression. We may fancy Gudrid and her companions looking over the landward gunwale at that unchanging panorama, with woods and hills of little variety for a background, and wondering if they would never have done. Surely we can give no other meaning to "This was a bleak coast with low and sandy shores. They called them wonderstrands because they were so long." The plural may indicate slight breaks in the outline here and there.

These people had swift ships. Beaches of ordinary length must also have been familiar to all of them. They would not feel a monotonous sail of but four or five hours. They would not marvel at a stretch of fifty miles; but if they had to follow down from Cape Henlopen to Cape Charles, or along any equal stretch of strand, they might well record the wearying novelty as a "wonder." It would rank equal with the great treeless wastes of Helluland or the immense forest area below, or that great "ness" which guarded the entrance to the inner Gulf. I think the Wonderstrands must have stretched for at least a hundred miles.

On grounds to be explained, it seems more than probable that the main Wineland home of these settlers was at the mouth of the Bay of Fundy. Between the tip of Cape Breton and that point, we have the outer coast-line of Nova Scotia, said to be somewhat over three hundred and fifty miles. Obviously then, the outer coast-line of Nova Scotia was their Wonderstrands. The palpable fact that Nova Scotia does not now supply these wonderstrands except perhaps on a lesser, though relatively considerable scale along the front of Richmond County over which boats are sometimes drawn, to the interior Bras d'Or, seems to have compelled Dr. Storm to piece out this part of his theory with minor beaches that the Icelanders would

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assume the erroneous transfer to this point of an observation n
elsewhere, unless there be some adequate explanation. And the
such explanation. The coast line now consists generally of low c
or banks, not comparable to the lofty precipices of Grand Manan,
let us suppose that this is not constant in height, but that, for g
reason, it has been rising continually. Reckoning back, it woul
correspondingly lower at any given time, supposing no counterac
cause intervened to reverse or check it or vary the rate of emerge

Our starting point is about a present average of 25 feet, perl
rather more—as indeed my own slight and local observations w
make me suppose. But the above has been given me as a ro
approximation by a journalist formerly resident in that provi
and is pretty well confirmed by a Boston yachtsman and an int
gent fisherman of Grand Manan, both personally familiar with
shore. Of course it is barely provisional, exactness not being ho
for.

It does not seem to have occurred to anyone concerned in s
researches that a definite and steady change may have been going
Rev. Mr. Slafter offers the nearest approach, that I recall, to su
view, in the suggestion that islands have shifted and new land
formed, making identification impracticable—but that is obvio
far from presenting a consciousness of explainable, progres
change. Now conceive the Nova Scotian seaboard lowered by
25 feet or more of its present height, that is, brought down to wa
level and dipped a little under—with slight narrowing of the pe
sula, in its mainland part, and partial obliteration of the eastern
of the now hollow insular terminal part called Cape Breton Islar
and you will have something not wholly unlike the long strand
New Jersey or the peninsula east of the Chesapeake, only with
hill country much nearer. It was the first introduction of the
prised northern visitors to the characteristic American coast line.

The probable reason for such a change is simple enough.
withdrawal northward of the great glacial ice-cap, from half a

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rises; below it is the resulting depression or trough of the earth wave, gradually lessening in downward movement. Apparently the earth crust behaves like a blanket undulated. Professor Brown of Brown's University writes that five hundred feet of uplift in all are reported from Labrador, and nearly seven hundred from parts of the Hudson Bay region. Prof. Shaler[3] has elaborately explained this depression and re-elevation. Mr. Davis's marsh investigations add another proof of the movement by demonstrating the complementary recent sinking below. The recent work on Labrador, the Country and the People, by W. T. Grenfell and others contains on page 118 a map giving the figures of uplift since the glacial era at various points of the Newfoundland and Labrador front, making 575 feet at St. Johns the maximum. Pages 127-135, etc., of this section, by R. A. Daly, add further discussion of this phenomenon and the general testimony of residents of the coast to its continuance.

Even these results would have seemed inadequate while men held by the prodigious periods of the astronomical glacial theories. But the observations of Shaler at Niagara, and of other investigators, all the way from the northwest to the Atlantic ocean, have built up a

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[1] A. S. Packard: The Labrador Coast.

[2] C. A. Davis: Salt Marsh Formation. Economic Geology, vol. 5, no. 7 (1910).

[3] N. S. Shaler: Nature and Man in America, p. 96 and context; also his Aspects of the Earth, pp. 2, 3, 6, 7, "As when a glacial sheet is imposed on a continent—as it was in the immediate past in North America—a wide area of the ice-laden land sank beneath the sea; to recover its level when the depressing burden was removed." *Cf.* A. R. Wallace: The Geographical Distribution of Animals, vol. 1, p. 152—"the weight of ice piled up in the north would cause the land surface to sink there, perhaps unequally, owing to the varying nature of the interior crust of the earth; and since the weight has been removed land would rise again still somewhat irregularly, and thus the phenomena of raised beaches of arctic shells in temperate latitudes are explained."

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hough there are some dissentients.

Of course the lifting forces or the resistance may have varied in stress from time to time, for reasons not readily to be fathomed, or some other crustal movements may have interposed, or there may have been counteracting influences yet unknown. Also there may have been local eddy-like exceptions of downward crumpling or earthquake depression,[1] as perhaps on the shore of the Bay of Acadia, not affecting the Atlantic coast. This depression seems to have ended long ago, and may perhaps be paired with the convulsion that sank so much land, leaving tree stumps at the bottom of lakes and in marshes near New Madrid, Missouri, early in the nineteenth century.

Perhaps there has not been sufficient search for direct evidence *in situ* of uplift along the Nova Scotian coast such as we have so strikingly from Labrador and the upper part of the Maine seafront. Locally there is some scientific opinion or feeling that this probably has not occurred. Indeed a positive descent[2] of the shore at certain points, notably Louisbourg, used to be inferred from the submergence of the old French works. But later investigation[3] has shown that the facts do not call for such an inference, the military architects having planted their embankments in the water; and no change either way in elevation can be said to be directly proved. There has not been time for any conspicuous effect, and the shifting of water currents and of sand, or other local conditions may apparently reduce it.

Nova Scotian direct evidence not counting either way, we must accept for guide the action of natural laws shown to have taken effect on the relatively more southern, as well as the more northern,

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[1] J. W. Dawson: Acadian Geology, p. 3; also supplement, pp. 13–21.

[2] Gessner: in Journ. Geol. Soc. London, vol. 18, p. 36.

[3] H. S. Poole: Subsidence of the Atlantic Coast Line of Nova Scotia. Trans. Nova Scotian Inst. of Science, vol. 11, p. 262 and McIntosh, p. 264.

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river valleys become broadened estuaries, bordered by marshes, low islands and broad sand banks, as in the region of the Chesapeake and Delaware.

Dr. Nansen, discarding the explanation of the saga and apparently forgetting the natural transformation of a coast-line in a formerly glaciated region, supposes that the Wonderstrands were originally named for the wonders which they exhibited. He does not suggest what these may have been beyond a hesitating note concerning wonderfully beautiful islands of myth and fancy. But there is surely only a faint verbal link between the wonder of supreme beauty and the wonder of impressive desolation. Also it is most incredible that the saga should have omitted all mention of prodigies which conferred one of its most important local names. And what marvels could they own, surpassing the almost appalling interminable succession of strands and dunes, constituting now as then the dominant typical American coast-line?

Whatever else may be doubted there is no denying that some Icelander, before 1334—when Hauk died, who copied for us the passage in question, had become acquainted with the American Atlantic coast as we see it now with slight breaks in its upper part from the tip of Florida to the tip of Cape Cod. Did Hauk come here or the saga-man? There is no record of any visits before that time except those of the saga and even the Flateybook version avers that "of all men Karlsefni has given the most exact accounts of all these voyages." Leif must already have seen that strange coast and prepared him for it. There is no great reason to doubt that Thorfinn saw it also.

The Wonderstrands (if Nova Scotia) were not remarkable for high tides and strong currents. On the contrary, these were (and are) rather feeble. Cabot found but 2¾ to 4 feet of rise and fall, and Harrisse,[1] reporting him, says: "This diminutiveness is peculiar to

[1] H. Harrisse: The Discovery of North America, p. 8.

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not less.

The same applies to the series of more than picturesque, broad, fiord-like indentions, mountain-sentineled, with lofty : out before them or in them, and contours for the most part nece unchanging in a thousand years, which characterize the upp coast of Maine, beginning with Passamaquoddy Bay. For Manan, lying across the front of the admirable inner expanse, as Denys says, from afar at sea, and necessarily the next land : explorers as they crossed the Bay of Fundy (heading a little v north after rounding the nose of Nova Scotia, and avoiding the of the Admiralty chart) was indeed the herald of a new or things. It is no wonder that even these Icelanders, accustor mountains and sea-currents, were deeply impressed by the c

Osgood's book on the Maritime Provinces wakens to someth an outburst about "Grand Manan," which "lies in the mouth Bay of Fundy, whose giant tides sweep imperiously by its sl This, however, would not now apply quite perfectly to the s harbor-indented, inhabited southeastern side, with its outlying of low islands, though the official chart shows violent tide rips, a Fewkes testifies to "currents of great power." It is the "back island," as they call it, the wilderness side (whence you ma down on Campobello near Eastport and plainly distinguish m the western mainland mountains), which enjoys the roughest of the racing tide. No one who watches the gulls sway backwa forward in great fleets in the rush of water and the long eddy north point by the fog whistle, or keeps company a bit with the gatherers on the slippery rocks, or looks down from the so cliffs on the foam about their bases, or considers the wave-

[1] The following figures are given by Verplanck Colvin in his Calcula "Plutarch's Account of Ancient Voyages to the New World," p. 3: H Labrador 7 feet; Anticosti, 5 feet; St. Johns, N. F., 6 feet; Trinity F., 3½ feet; Kennebec, 9 feet; Portland. 9.9 feet; Boston, 11 fee London, 3 feet; New York, 5 feet.

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further light on the subject will be most welcome; but with the information at hand, after much endeavor, this identification seems to me most likely. The Flateybook's account is badly blurred in the telling, and too confusingly blends the characteristics of Hóp and Straumfiord (without mentioning the former) to be very helpful; but even in it we have the outlying island, which must have especially impressed all the party; and the description of the wide shallows left by the ebbing tide belongs peculiarly to the lateral branches and upper arms of the Bay of Fundy. It could not well be otherwise, with sixty-feet daily change of level at Monkton, and thirty-two feet even at the reversing falls of St. John. The Bay of Fundy is simply unique in these respects on our coast and Straumey and Straumfiord can belong nowhere else (see note 10, p. 178).

Nearly all the statements of the trustworthy and little defaced narrative of the two parallel sagas are exactly borne out by present facts. They came to "a fiord-cut shore" of mountain valleys filled with water, forming bays, and these in due succession are there still. They sailed into one of these bays or fiords, a statement twice made, curiously marking as already stated where a later hand has interpolated the apocryphal episode of the Gaelic runners Haki and Hækia. "They sailed through the firth" to reach this bay, which was included under the same name, for we read later that "in the spring they went into Straumfiord and obtained provisions from both regions." Of course the same passage has to be made still, and of course the strait and bay are connected; though their union was no doubt more obvious then, a good part of the narrow Campobello island and Lubec headland being under water. These, with Eastport island and other neighboring territory would appear as minor islets in a somewhat larger

[1] J. W. Fewkes: A Zoölogical Reconnoissance in Grand Manan. American Naturalist, May, 1890, p. 424.

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of Eric, birds' eggs according to that of Thorfinn Karlsefni, w
is a little the better in this instance, are a case in point. They v
probably gulls' eggs, cormorants' eggs, and those of the eider-d
black duck, and other water fowl. The numerous gulls still lay s
eggs in the most nearly inaccessible niches of the cliffs near S
Head. Above it there is a fine level table land, which may well l
been fully occupied by nesting sea-fowl in the times before
advent of men (and boys), aided in destruction, as I am told, l
great recent multiplication of hungry foxes. It is not surprising
most of the egg-laying is now done on the outlying islets, where
secution is less constant.

Denys,[1] about 1645, after defining Passamaquoddy Bay as "a
of great circuit," says "Opposite the last cove and some distance
at sea, occur some islands, the largest of which is called the islan
Menane. It can be seen from afar as one comes from the sea .
On all these islands . . . . there is a great number of all kind
birds which go there in the spring to produce their young."

It was the proper locality for such finds. Champlain tells u
filling a cask with cormorant eggs on Hope Island, and of an alr
unbelievable number of birds, including ducks of three diffe
kinds, on the Tusket Islands, all about the mouth of Fundy Bay.
a little later, when the eggs had become young birds, he colle
many of the latter on the Wolves, only a short distance up Fu
Bay from Grand Manan. It is not certain that he landed on the la
though he sailed near it three times at least and anchored
in Seal Cove, a harbor of its more accessible side, with almo
shipwreck.

Dr. Nansen doubts the plentiful nesting of birds, thinks the
Norwegian reminiscence, and in particular excludes gulls and a
But a local ornithologist of North Head, Grand Manan, who is as
informed on the subject as anybody in the world, gives me by le

[1] N. Denys: Description of the Coast of North America. Ganong's tra
pp. 110, 111.

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both alike, to a certain point, in the simpler matters of existence. There may be a special illustration of this in the established and ancient habit of the Passamaquoddy Indians, to cross and recross the strait annually in their canoes, having their home astride of it, so to speak, and obtaining supplies from both shores. They no longer maintain a permanent village on the island, having withdrawn for superstitious reasons (it is said) but the habit of annual or more frequent migrations across Grand Manan Channel for sport and food is hardly yet abandoned. The Norsemen did likewise and for like reasons, the resources being enumerated in the saga. It is perhaps a case where the usual procedure had been reversed, the Indian following the white man, for that region seems to have been empty of inhabitants on their arrival and during the three years (once interrupted) of their occupancy, as Strachey declares the lower course of the Susquehanna to have been, or as some parts of Kentucky perhaps were, or lower Greenland at the time of Eric's settlement; indeed, until after 1300, according to Dr. Rink[1] and Dr. Storm. It is a common phenomenon in the case of a sparse native population, not deeply anchored.

The Indians of the region at the time of our first knowledge concerning them were the Micmac or Souriquois of Nova Scotia, extending west of the head of the Bay of Fundy into Northern New Brunswick, the Malicete or Milicete of the western side of the bay and the Passamaquoddy, often referred to on Grand Manan as the American Indians. The Maguaquadevic Indians about St. George and the neighboring lakes are the border tribe of Malicete on the Passamaquoddy side. There is said to be a portrait of one in the Illustrated London News of Sept. 5, 1863. They were notable for at least one dolmen-

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[1] H. A. Rink: Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo, p. 74.

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their kindred the Passamaquoddy appear to have worked on up
Atlantic. All these people were of the ancient Algonquian stem,
the two branches had been long separated when fate thus drew t
again together; for even yet the languages[2] of the Malicete
Passamaquoddy borderers differ considerably and the Micmac u
very different pattern of canoe (upturned at both ends) from th
the "American Indians," although occasionally visiting, from
Digby, the same island of Grand Manan.

We do not know when this first meeting took place; but, as be
emphasized, the Norse date (say 1003) is very early. If we sup
that the movement down the St. Lawrence valley had not yet rea
the site of Monckton nor the upper waters of the St. John and tha
movement up the Atlantic coast had not yet passed the Kenn
we shall have the requisite Indian vacuum. There is nothing to
guest that any Eskimo ever crossed the Maritime Provinces in t
days or skirted their eastern border, no reason to suppose that
Beothuk extended so far down the coast, and we cannot assume
other native occupants for this corner of the Bay of Fundy sl

Any one who will mount Battery Hill above Eastport and
about him will understand "there were mountains around";
country is "fine" still and the hay crop both on the mainland
Grand Manan—for we were there in the height of that seasor
really remarkable. They must have found excellent grazing. E
lent hunting, too, for the resources are not yet exhausted. We
told of a moose which had recently visited the bay shore near E
port and were offered in that city the skins of seals shot by Inc
very recently on or near Grand Manan. A whale had entered w
a few days the cove of that name, beside which we were lodged or
island, just as another came into the hands of Thorfinn's peopl
their temporary discomfiture. They would be likely to establish tl

[1] Jack: Stone Found in New Brunswick. Smithsonian Rep. for 1881, b
cited.

[2] Trans. Royal Soc. Canada, 1904, p. 20.

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every respect, had a most discouraging and even ghastly winter. Their best man, Champlain,[1] appositely declares:

> It would be very difficult to ascertain the character of this region without spending a winter in it; for on arriving here in summer everything is very agreeable, in consequence of the woods, fine country and the many varieties of good fish which are found there. There are six months of winter in this country.

The summer advantages could never have been greater than when the Norsemen came. When winter struck them and the game had withdrawn to a distance and the snow impeded their landward travel, it was not unnatural that they should shift to the great island, where fish and amphibious animals were closer at hand, also from which the land animals could not well escape. Moose were found on it in the boyhood of an elderly resident, who talked with me, and there are still some deer, though partly at least of late reintroduction. It ought to have been easy to arrange a drive of animals toward some corner of the cliffs and supply themselves with meat; and when it was not possible to fish outside there were (and are) trout in the brooks, also eels, on which the Indians afterward depended, in a string of ponds, the most northerly and best known of which is in the wilderness between the old Indian site (now a hamlet of fishers and dulse gatherers) and the prosperous village of North Head. There could be no lack of good fresh water.

The migration to the island seems a wise move, and perhaps did more than anything else to carry them through without the deaths and disabling maladies of Champlain's companions. Their stock also lived, and throve, probably on birch-twigs, dried fish (for Norwegian cattle are said to make the best of such winter fare) and the half dry grasses and other vegetable survivals of the springy inland hollows and southeastern marshes. The sea never freezes there and the tide would always wash up or lay bare something that might be of service.

[1] Voyages of Champlain. Original Narratives of Early American History.


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against opinion, the chief trouble being that Leif had given t
standard which was true for a more southern part of the coas
very misleading and disappointing when they applied it to nort
ern Maine and the neighboring corner of New Brunswick.

These occurrences bring out saliently the fact that they fou
"unsown wheat" nor grapevines at Straumfiord or on Stra
They do not profess to have done so. There is not the least
indicating either plant, or its grain or fruit, except the interp
story of Haki and Hækia who ran "to the south," we do not
how far (but they were "fleeter than deer"), and brought back
specimens only. If there be any truth in this episode, and if it be
to the narrative not of Leif but of Thorfinn, we must place it wi
explorations of that first summer or early autumn. Their bunch
probably have been obtained from the Penobscot in the three
days allowed them. Champlain found a few large grapes and g
vines on the lower Maine coast. but none anywhere above Po
nor inland in Nova Scotia. According to Lescarbot,[1] the apoth
of their expedition desired to transplant Cape Cod grape vines
lovely Annapolis valley of the latter province, which had none, th
one would expect them to spring up there spontaneously, if anyw
in all that province.

The general result of inquiries among Maine people is that
grapes of proper size and quality for table use or wine-makin
not ripen in that State, owing to the shortness of the summe
the severity of the frosts, so as to benefit anybody appreciably e
the botanists. But if some far ranging runners brought even
or three back to Thorfinn from the southward these might co
his resolution to seek in that direction a country where such t
abounded. When he had compromised with Thorhall and seen
"prepare for his voyage below the island"—no doubt in one c
southeastern harbors or among the outlying islets—Thorfinn
have wished that he had kept on at first, like Leif, into wa

[1] Lescarbot: Nova Francia. Erondelle's transl., pp. 101, 102.

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value. Two or three thousand people of the island live by fishing in more than decent comfort, while on the nearby mainland there has been built up at Lubec the chief American center of one branch of this industry.

Considering the many coincidences of the present and past facts with the items of the saga and the absence of any real objection, it seems that Grand Manan and Passamaquoddy Bay with the strait between them may be accepted provisionally as Straumey and Straumfiord. But even if we err as to the exact places named in the saga, it seems practically certain that these were not far from the sweeping tides of Fundy. The Icelanders could not come into this region without observing them, and how could they pass by, giving such titles to lesser examples of the same kind? The verbal distinction between stream and current, sometimes suggested, must in this conection be regarded as overstrained. Besides, the official chart in its "rips" and "eddies" offers an abundance of "stream," and Dr. Fewkes characterizes them clearly in his zoölogical paper already cited.

It may be well to consider as an alternative, Long Island on the opposite side of the mouth of the Bay of Fundy, and the narrow passage, now St. Mary's Bay, between it and the mainland of Nova Scotia, where Champlain found a violent and dangerous current. But the island seems too close to the mainland for the language of the saga, since the passage could be easily and promptly made at any season; and it is hardly a sufficiently distinguishable "region."

15.—THE EXPEDITION TO HÓP

After the departure of Thorhall the Hunter, and Thorfinn's decision "to proceed southward along the land and to the eastward," the saga says:[1]

[1] A. M. Reeves: The Finding of Wineland the Good. Translation of saga continued. See footnotes.



them.

Now one morning early, when they looked about them, they saw ni canoes, and staves were brandished from the boats, with a noise like fl they were revolved in the same direction in which the sun moves. Tl Karlsefni "What may this betoken?" Snorri's son Thorbrand, answe "It may be this is a signal of peace, wherefore let us take a white shi display it." And thus they did. Thereupon the strangers rowed towar and went upon the land, marvelling at those whom they saw befo . . . . [For description see p. 143 herein] and then rowed away, anc southward around the point.

Karlsefni and his followers had built their huts above the lake, som ings were near the mainland, and some near the lake. Now they r there that winter. No snow whatever came there, and all of their li lived by grazing. And when spring opened, they discovered, early on ing, a great number of skin-canoes rowing from the south past the numerous, that it looked as if coals had been scattered broadcast ou the bay; and on every boat staves were waved. Thereupon Karlsefni people displayed their shields, and when they came together, they b barter with each other. Especially did the strangers wish to buy re for which they offered in exchange peltries and quite grey skins. Tl desired to buy swords and spears, but Karlsefni and Snorri forbade t exchange for perfect unsullied skins, the Skrellings would take red span in length, which they would bind around their heads.[1] So the went on for a time, until Karlsefni and his people began to grow s cloth, when they divided it into such narrow pieces, that it was n than a finger's breadth wide, but the Skrellings still continued to give much as before, or more.

It so happened that a bull, which belonged to Karlsefni and his peo out from the woods, bellowing loudly. This so terrified the Skrellin they sped out to their canoes, and then rowed away to the southwar the coast. For three weeks nothing more was seen of them. At the en time, however, a great multitude of Skrelling boats was discovered app from the south, as if a stream were pouring down, and all their stav waved in a direction contrary to the course of the sun, and the Skrellin all uttering loud cries. Thereupon Karlsefni and his men took red shi

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[1] W. H. Dall: The Tribes of the Extreme Northwest, p. 238. Exact in early trading. See also as to red headwear in southern New Englan quotation from Champlain.

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me-seems, ye might slaughter them like cattle? Had I but a weapon, methinks, I would fight better than any one of you." They gave no heed to her words. Freydis sought to join them, but lagged behind, for she was not hale; she followed them, however, into the forest, while the Skrellings pursued her; she found a dead man in front of her; this was Thorbrand, Snorri's son, his skull cleft by a flat stone; his naked sword lay beside him; she took it up, and prepared to defend herself with it. The Skrellings then approached her, whereupon she stripped down her shift, and slapped her breast with the naked sword. At this the Skrellings were terrified and ran down to their boats, and rowed away. Karlsefni and his companions, however, joined her and praised her valor. Two of Karlsefni's men had fallen, and four of the Skrellings. Karlsefni's party had been overpowered by dint of superior numbers. They now returned to their dwellings, and bound up their wounds, and weighed carefully what throng of men that could have been, which had seemed from the land; it now seemed to them, that there could have been but the one party, that which came from the boats, and that the other troop must have been an ocular delusion. The Skrellings, moreover, found a dead man, and an axe lay beside him. One of their number picked up the axe, and struck at a tree with it, and one after another [they tested it], and it seemed to them to be a treasure, and to cut well; then one of their people hewed at a stone and broke the axe; it seemed to him of no use since it would not withstand stone, so he cast it down.

It now seemed clear to Karlsefni and his people that although the country thereabouts was attractive, their life would be one of constant dread and turmoil by reason of [the hostility of] those who dwelt there before, so they forthwith prepared to leave, and determined to return to their own country. They sailed to the northward off the coast, and found five Skrellings, clad in skin-doublets, lying asleep near the sea. There were vessels beside them, containing animal marrow, mixed with blood. Karlsefni and his company concluded that they must have been banished from their own land. They put them to death. They afterwards found a cape, upon which there was a great number of animals, and this cape looked as if it were one cake of dung, by reason of the animals which lay there during the winter. They now arrived again at Straumfiord. . . . .

It will be instructive to consider this return journey first and in reverse order. The nearest point down the coast from Straumey recorded by the saga is of course the headland covered by the animals. No doubt they were seals, for no land animals would congregate in

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The three Skrellings were found before finding the seal as the
came northward, so they must have been farther south. "I
asleep near the sea" gives the idea of a smooth beach, and w
belong rather to southern or middle Maine or some lower p
though not inevitably. Their "food" was perhaps rather a r
for Strachey tells us: "Nottowene groweth as our bents o
meadows, the seed of which is not unlike to rye though some
smaller; these they use for a dainty bread buttered with deer su
This may be the earliest record of buttered rice cakes.

Their costume is more to the present purpose, buckskin ja
being Indian attire wherever not discarded for coolness. Cham
observed in this matter an interesting distinction between the re
above and below Cape Ann—the former being chilled by the nor
current, the latter warmed by the Gulf Stream, so that the wate
the two shores of the projecting land are still recognized by resi
as of different temperatures. Writing of Nauset and other
southern points visited in 1605,[2] he says; "All these people fror
Island Cape (Cape Ann) wear neither robes nor furs except
rarely, moreover their robes are made of grasses and hemp, sca
covering the body and coming down only to their thighs." Ordin
he reports, they wore only "a small piece of leather, so likewis
women, with whom it comes down a little lower behind than the
all the rest of the body being naked." The next year at Cha
Harbor in this region "some five or six hundred savages" car
see him, "all naked except" that "small piece of doe or sea
The women are also naked. They wear their hair carefully co
and twisted. Their bodies are well proportioned, both men
women, and their skin olive-colored." He has already told o
robes worn in July at Saco near the least chilly corner of Maine

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[1] W. Strachey: The Historie of Travaile into Virginia, p. 118.

[2] Voyages of Champlain. Original Narratives of Early American Hi
p. 73.

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part with little shell beads." But full dress is never a daily habit at all hours nor a measure of climatic requirements; and a jacket open in front plus a bead-trimmed turban, with nothing more above the waist, can hardly be called overwarm in the way of a visiting costume.

The precise border-line between the regions of habitual clothing and approximate nudity (for everyday wear) may have shifted a little during the six centuries between the dates of Thorfinn and Champlain by reason of the descent and dwindling of Cape Cod and possible consequent changes in the course and interaction of oceanic currents. But there does not seem to have been much difference during nearly four centuries that have followed; and probably there was little before. Whether the New Hampshire and lower Maine coast were a little warmer or a little chillier in 1003 than in 1605 or 1911, it is altogether likely that the buckskin-shirted victims died above Cape Ann, though perhaps below the Kennebec. At a later period this would be the place to find Almachouqui Algonquians; and perhaps this is the best guess we can make about them; but it remains a guess only.

On the earlier downward passage to Hóp, Thorfinn would seem to have briefly followed the coast, say as far as Mount Desert, and then struck across the Gulf of Maine, thus sailing chiefly on a more eastern course than if he had followed the shore all the way. This crossing might be to or around Cape Cod, or, less probably, to lower Maine. Birds in migration during two seasons,[1] and other signs not to be missed by the watchfulness of a very well-skilled early navigator, would have set him on that more direct water-road. Even the brief tracing of the nearer shore would not necessarily be carried into practice, for he had nothing to gain by it, aiming so far away.

[1] See account by Columbus of his first voyage for the aid thus given the Genoese in finding the Azores.



almost exactly one which we have conjectured for the earlier navi-gator, though a change of angle would have taken him to Bosto instead, or even to Portsmouth.

There is another consideration which perhaps has never befor been presented. The natives who fought with them at Hóp did nc attack them at Straumfiord after their return. There is no indicatio that they were followed at all. Doubtless they could not be, if the sailed out of sight at the start, afterward passing only from on headland to another. But if the voyage had been for a hundred mile only, the savages would have found them out and tried to tak revenge—a matter of imperative duty and personal enjoyment fo most wild Indians.

There is another clue. The saga, as already quoted, relates subsequent expedition of Thorfinn with one ship, around Cape Breto Island to a river flowing from east to west, where Thorvald, the helms-man was slain by a "one footer" or "Uniped." We are told "The concluded that the mountains of Hóp and those which they had nov found formed one chain (or were the same)," and this appeared t be so, because they were about an equal distance removed fron Straumfiord in either direction. They intended to explore all th mountains, those which were at Hóp, and those which they discovered They sailed back and passed the third winter at Straumfiord." Th intention to "explore all the mountains" is not in the Saga o Thorfinn Karlsefni, but in the parallel Saga of Eric the Red (A. M 557), as given by Mr. Reeves's notes, and the estimate of equal dis-tance is in the former only. It sounds authentic, but merely as a sailor' guess.

It must mean sailing distance, for they were not given to guessin at overland air-lines, which they would never follow; but measurec by "doegr" of water travel. Without knowing which river is meant

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[1] Voyages of Champlain, Orig. Narr. of Early Amer. Hist., p. 81.

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a long way from the Atlantic shore, with, also in part, the upper arms of the Bay of Fundy between. If we carry the mountains in question up to the lower ridge of the western horn of Cape Breton, we pack nearly all the sites of the saga impossibly near to each other, we dispense with the distinctive violent currents of Straumey and the pleasing conditions of Hóp and we make the interval so slight that the party might have walked easily across or sent messengers, and could not possibly have felt themselves astray in a remote and dangerous region as they did. Also the Uniped or his friends would have followed them; but nobody menaced them on Straumey nor in their mainland home on the shore of the bay beyond Straumfiord, so far as we know. It must not be overlooked, however, that the statement of distances from Straumfiord occurs in one version only and may be a conjectural explanation by some saga-man of several centuries later.

Of course there must have been something unique about this one-footer, who fled so fast after shooting so deadly. Perhaps he was a wandering Eskimo with a kayak hidden in that "creek" where he vanished. If he sprang into that odd little craft and shot out of sight with the tapering rear end of the boat reaching back from his waist, and if this were their first clear view of him after woodland glimpses, the picture might have impressed them in that way, making them hurry out of a land of sorcery and death.

Lescarbot,[1] after describing a kayak as "all covered with leather" except "one hole in the midst where the man putteth himself on his knees," adds very appositely: "I believe that the fables of the sirens and mermaids come from the dunces esteeming that they were fishes, both men and women." In other words, he recognized that the rear part of the kayak might well be taken for a single member, a tail. If an Eskimo thus ensconced may be taken for a merman, why not for a "one-footer?" At least, I am not aware of any other explanation which is equally reasonable.

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[1] Nova Francia. Erondelle's transl., p. 231.

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matters of detail. Why should not these Norsemen speak a
loosely in praising, as well as other people? Many brooks,
all, are really crowded with some kinds of fish in the spawning
along the coast. Yellow perch were formerly dipped out o
in quantities east of the Chesapeake; herring are often sn
by the hook or scooped up with the dip-net when they thro
water at the Little Falls of the Potomac, and alewives are s
run in multitudes up Narragansett Bay. The special meth
catching flounders (which hug the bottom) in pits between t
said by Munro's History of Bristol [1] to be still in practice ther
to the game, I was told of several recent instances of deer
seen near Mount Hope, and the region must once have been a h
paradise. There are years when, by all accounts, hardly any
falls in this neighborhood, and Thorfinn may have happened
of these.

The winter-grazing of stock has been claimed in one of the sag
an especially bountiful field—the prize of a murderous controv
in Iceland itself. More precisely, a recent writer [2] bears w

> The Faroe Islands, surrounded by rocky barriers and dangerous whi
> are like those dragon-guarded islands of fable upon which, when the c
> enchantment was passed, the invader found pleasant gardens and baln
> .... The air of the islands is mild the year round, so that even in winte
> and sheep are herded without shelter, and snow so seldom lies upon t
> that the grazing is practically uninterrupted.

From this to the "absolutely no snow" of the saga is no
interval. Perhaps in all such cases we should suspect a
involuntary "diminution of the record."

This winter grazing, as a ranchman of the far northwest in
me, is practised even in Alberta, where the weather varies
suddenly from Arctic severity to a very trying heat and mo

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[1] W. H. Munro: History of Bristol, R. I., p. 22.
[2] E. M. Bacon: Henry Hudson, p. 112.

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may suppose that marsh-grazing was much more plentiful.

There is a plain intention in this part of the saga to contrast the conditions of their northern and southern Wineland homes in the months that try all resources. Champlain[1] does the same as between the same localities. Besides his statement that no one would foresee the severity of the St. Croix winter from the summer of that region (compare with the saga) he says that the winter life of the few Indians there "seems a very miserable one." He tells of really murderous hardships endured by his own companions. But at Nauset he was told that the snow fell only to the depth of a foot or less, and he adds; "I conclude that this region is of moderate temperature and the winter not severe." Now the Nauset Indians were close neighbors and allies of those about Massachusetts and Narragansett Bays and their conditions must have been nearly identical.

As to the delightfulness of the Narragansett country we have Verrazano's panegyric of nearly a hundred years before, which declares that it will produce anything; also the commendation of many later writers and the plain testimony of the land and water themselves.

Thorfinn and his party met their first grape-vines and wild grain at Hóp, so far as we know, for we can hardly count the plants which Haki and Hækia may have reached in their dubious southern excursion. The impression was great and immediate. We are told "They found self-sown wheat fields on all the land there wherever there were hollows and wherever there was hilly ground there were vines." Not grain nor grapes at that season, for it was spring, and no interpolator has been at work here. The statement would have fitted many places in southern New England, so far as the vines are concerned, and one place about as well as another. As already explained, it would not fit any more northern coast region.

Three grains have been called "wheat" in America, which are not really so. Prof. Fernald's[2] *Elymus arenarius* (lyme grass, strand

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[1] Voyages of Champlain: Orig. Narr. of Early Amer. Hist., pp. 25-96.
[2] Fernald: The Plants of Vinland. Rhodora, Feb. 1910.


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Maize, or our Indian corn, originated—according to Dr. H
berger's very careful and valuable investigations [1]—in the uplai
central Mexico; whence it has been carried north and south a
way, everywhere calling for the care of man. Dr. Rafn suppose
it might have been found wild in Rhode Island, but that is out
question. Leon, Mexico, would be the nearest possible poin
grain accidentally dropped by us may spring up, and if it be ea
the season, may produce grain, but that, if it falls again, will di
ing the winter. This is true from Maryland northward, at the
for *Zea mays* is an upland tropical exotic and helpless among us
untended.

It may have reached and passed the Bay of Fundy, for Lesca
speaks of agriculture as formerly practised by the Micmac. I
doubtless receding when found by Champlain [3] at Saco in 160
on the Kennebec the Indians had told him of its cultivation alon
part of the coast a little earlier. There is the same story
of Hochelaga [4] (Montreal), where Cartier found it plentifu
1535, yet whence it was driven, before the next European visit
its Huron planters. The predatory habits of idler savages co
for more than the rigor of the climate in fixing boundaries. Yet
is no doubt that it needs a hot and rather long summer to
thrive and yield well.

One would hardly expect it to be called "wheat," but men
name by analogy, not by supposed identity; as in the famili
stances of the tulip-tree "poplar," our robin, which is a mig
thrush, the ruffed grouse, which is a partridge in some States
pheasant in others, and the "bobwhite," which is called a quail

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[1] J. W. Harshberger: Maize, A Botanical and Economical Study. Uni
of Pennsylvania Publications, 1893.

[2] Nova Francia: Erondelle's transl.

[3] Voyages of Champlain, Orig. Narr. of Early Amer. Hist., p. 60.

[4] He had previously seen the grain, as food, near the mouth of the St
rence and called it "millet as large as peas." A little earlier he had n
wild rice on the Southern Shore of the Gulf, noting that it was "like ry

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three of beans in the ashes and decayed wood, the hills being four or five feet apart, weeding with hoes, hilling and the final processes of pulling and preparation, with a word also for green roasting ears.

Champlain more briefly describes the same process in New England, specifying some additional tools.

So "corn" may be "wheat"; but the real crux is in the word "unsown," evidently meaning wild, spontaneous. Dr. Fiske thought the Norsemen, seeing the small amount of work required, considered it practically so; but the above abstract of procedure ought to dispose of this rather curious fancy, which would not have occurred to him if he had raised corn on a wooded hillside experimentally in the Indian way. Besides, though a wheat-field resembles a natural field or patch of low-growing wild grain, a cornfield is obviously artificial. Dr. Fiske says that it was naturally noticed by Thorfinn's people, being one of the first objects to attract the attention of Champlain. But Champlain's first observation is: "They till and cultivate the soil. I landed to observe their tillage. . . . . We saw their Indian corn, which they raise in gardens," and again, "before reaching their cabins we entered a field planted with Indian corn." Whenever he mentions this plant or its grain, it is unequivocally as an attendant on human homes and the product of human labor.

No doubt the Norsemen would have done likewise, if "Indian corn" were the "wheat" which they found; but there is not a word in the sagas to indicate any sign or product of agriculture past or present—even of the "pulse" which Verrazano found the Narragansett natives cultivating, whatever he may have meant.

This interesting omission of the saga would have a negative value in determining the general location of Hóp, if we knew that corn was then raised in any particular region which Thorfinn might have reached. But the chances are that it had not yet entered New England from beyond the Hudson. It was there in the early seventeenth

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[1] W. Strachey: The Historie of Travaile into Virginia, p. 116. *Cf.* Lescarbot: Nova Francia. Erondelle's transl., p. 98. "A loaf of bread made with the wheat called mahiz or mais and in these our parts Turkey or Saracen wheat."


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ing grounds. Many thousands of Indians depend in some degree it for subsistence. The tending and gathering of it runs close agriculture, so elaborate a system has developed—very fully set fo in the memoir of Dr. Jenks.[1]

In its later stages it does not greatly resemble wheat, but wl young there is a decided resemblance to the ordinary unbotanic e though its tint is softer and more luxuriant, making its great l fields a conspicuous feature of our spring landscapes. There plenty of it in Texas, and thence all the way north as far as the l sandy typically American coast line extends; also farther no where proper surface conditions obtain, even to a high latitu It is equally at home, equally abundant, in Maryland and Manitc In "The Backwoods of Canada" Mrs. Traill reports "When s from a distance they (the wild rice beds) appear like low green isla on the lakes." But they do not need continually even partial subn gence, being only a little more nearly aquatic than cultivated r which must have the water let in now and then. I have tram often about and upon the wild rice roots, after the birds that fat almost absurdly on this grain, which is "like rye" as to height some other characteristics in full plant-growth as Cartier says.

Climate and other conditions exclude perhaps all the territory nc of Cape Ann, but hardly any place below it, near the coast. We m look next to the requirements of Hóp's topography as set forth in saga.

The general meaning of the word is a loch or small bay. map of Iceland[2] shows the particular Hóp which Thorfinn most lik had in mind and thus illustrates the description. It is a lake very far from his home, connected by a strait to the broad bay Hu

[1] A. E. Jenks: The Wild Rice Gatherers of the Upper Lakes. Ninete Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol., part 2, p. 1013 *et seq.*

[2] W. G. Collingwood and J. Stefánsson: A Pilgrimage to the Saga-St of Iceland. But this does not show the sea connection made plain by la maps.

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noticed. It will be seen that there are many requirements. ' simply cannot find anything to fit them even plausibly south or w of Narragansett Bay. Is there anything like Hóp between it a Cape Ann? Or rather was there any such Hóp there in 1004?

Professor Horsford thought he found an eligible Hóp in the Ba Bay of Boston Harbor; also the delightful anchorage of Verraza where a fleet might be safe when storms do blow. But in Verrazan time there was no such bay; far less in Thorfinn's.

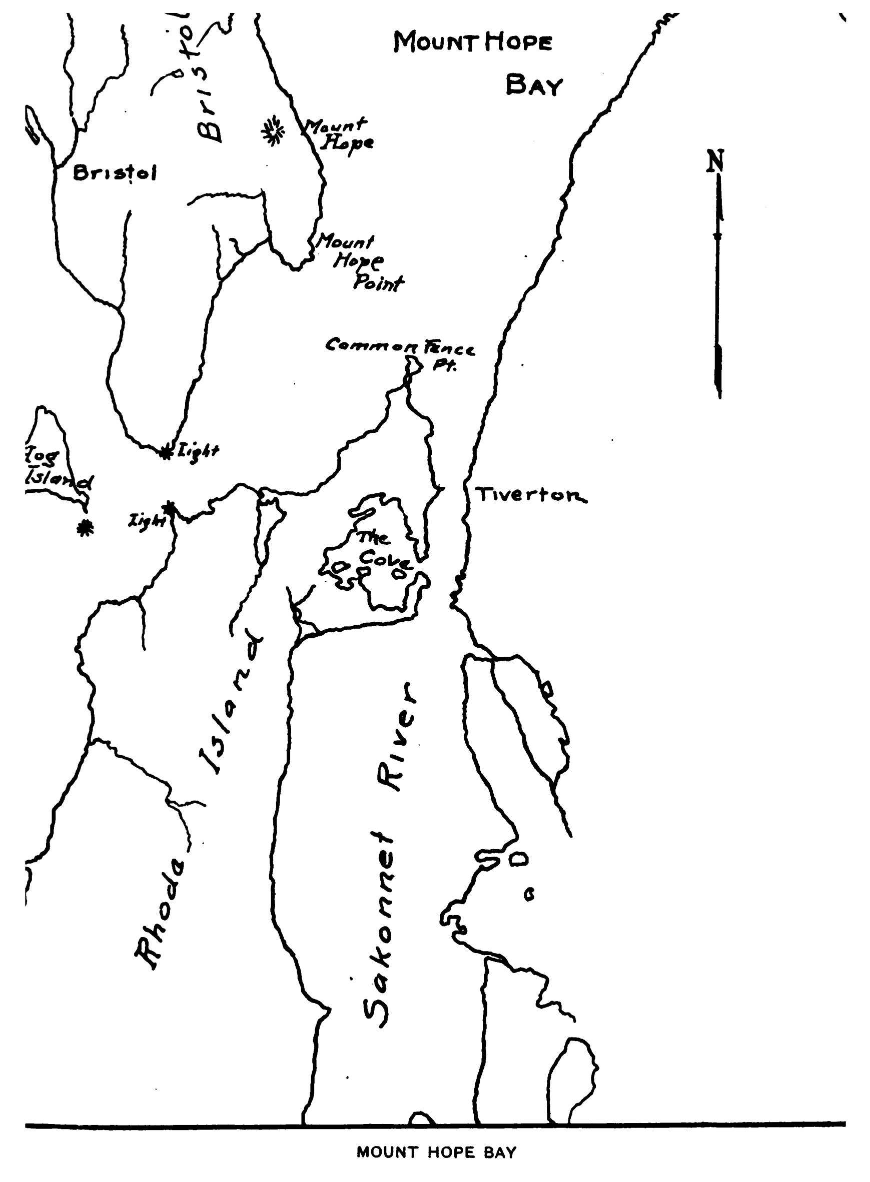
As previously stated, the Superintendent of the U. S. Coast a Geodetic Survey informs me that the oldest chart to which he l access gives two fathoms for the ruling depth of the channel leadi into the Back Bay and shows its flats without depth marks. Y they may not have been wholly bare at low water, for they show the chart like those of Dorchester, which are marked for four fe This chart was drawn for the British government in the latter p of the eighteenth century. Obviously a fleet would have been sor put to it for room in 1800; how then in 1523, allowing for the su sidence of the coast? In Thorfinn's time if not in Verrazano's, th can have been no more than a river winding through meadows the way down to the harbor. This vanishing of the Back Bay H makes any comment on the lack of elevations and crags beside t river seem rather superfluous.

Dr. Rafn[1] was so absurdly wrong as to so many things— spite of the real service he rendered—that they will reflect in sor minds injuriously on one point, as to which he may happen to be rig That is, the identification of Mount Hope Bay, Rhode Island, w Thorfinn's Hóp. It is a beautiful sheet, the depth of which in sor parts is a guaranty against its entire absence then.

Taunton River flows into it at the upper end or side. From t lower end or opposite side two channels extend to the sea. One

[1] Antiquitates Americanæ.

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MOUNT HOPE BAY

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some measures which have been taken recently, and there are e
indications. The Dighton Rock inscription in Taunton River is v
overflowed in ordinary tides; it was partly overflowed in high
about 1700 when Cotton Mather wrote. We must suppose that
entirely free of the tide and in no apparent danger when the fi
were carven. Other inscribed rocks give like testimony. Mr. D
marsh experiments elsewhere cited are quite conclusive. Dr. M
tells me that the depression at Atlantic City is found to be pro
from two to four feet per century. It seems to be about that for (
City, Maryland, a point which I have watched for more than tw
five years. A proven descent has occurred at New York a
Boston Harbor during the past seventy years. Of course we c
be quite sure that this existed in older times, for reasons already
but continuity of movement seems more probable than cessation,
there is no apparent reason for the latter. As we know of a suf
cause for the continuous lowering of the southern New En
coast, and that it has really descended during several centuri
may at least be pretty sure that it was higher in the year 1004 t
is now; but by how many feet who can say?

Of course the action of tides and river-currents, in scourin
and in depositing, must also be kept in mind. For example, tl
parts of Mount Hope Bay near that hill are deep, the remainde
seems to have been silted up by Taunton River and other tribu
the soundings running below twenty feet. The shallows have
dredged through to make a clear channel. To get the soundi
the year 1004, we must suppose all this accumulation remove
the old elevation restored. Whether the net results would le
Mount Hope Bay approaching its present size may be questione
there would be at least a small bay, unless the depression has amo
to seventy feet, which seems unlikely. A very much less d
would, however, make a bar in a curved line across the main cl
where a vessel struck in 1912; would close the strait now

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is probably not fatal. Verrazano seems to describe a transitiona condition of Narragansett Bay, when its mouth did not freely le in so great a volume of water as now before the sweep of the storms Curiously he does not allude to Mount Hope Bay; but he does no allude to Mount Hope either; so perhaps his trips by land and wate were rather to the westward, or those who doubt his interesting stor may be right though in most of its items there is a notable veri similitude. Certainly the hill was there, small but dominating th low landscape.

The name Mount Hope is somewhat mysterious, but probably corruption of Montaup; which Mr. Mooney does not consider iden tical with Montauk, Manotuck or Montanutt, defined by Trumbull's dictionary as meaning in substance a place of outlook. Montauk i at least applied to several hills, and its meaning would seem to f the present one well enough. But the words may not be related.

Now Munro's History of the town of Bristol, before referred t a work rather notable for care in collecting local data from deeds an records, declares in a note that Haup and Montaup were applie by Indians to this region when the white settlers came. He offer the solution that the Norsemen left the name Hóp, which the Indian turned to Haup and the English to Hope as we now write it. H thinks two or three Norsemen may have remained and married amon the Indians, thus anchoring the name; an improbable suppositior considering the hostility of these natives, and one for which we hav no basis whatever. The true explanation of the origin of the wor must be left to our Indian linguists, who, however, are more cor versant with surviving languages. No argument can be safel founded on it in the present state of our knowledge.

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[1] J. H. Trumbull: Indian Names of Places in and on the Borders c Connecticut.


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hand, sites along this coast lack noticeable hills. Just what
should be attached to each of these conflicting considerations i
to say, but thus far no other Hóp has been suggested which
more plausible than Mount Hope Bay, Rhode Island.

16.—CONCERNING THE NATIVES

In The Discovery of America, Dr. Fiske[1] has laid stress
ignorance of eleventh century Europeans as to people so uns
ticated that they would not understand the qualities of a steel
ment or the relative value of red rags and costly furs and who
be thrown into panic by the bellowing of a bull. Possibly the
ment is pressed overmuch, for the civilized peoples of antiquit
and transmitted, some knowledge of interior Africa and other ou
rudimentary regions; but, however qualified, it adds a little cumu
testimony to the genuine character of the saga. Also, these Skr
have been found interesting by many writers and overhauled in
way, to see what they can tell us, for one thing, about the locat
Hóp.

In particular, controversy has busied itself with the question
they Indian or Eskimo? The case for the latter rests mainly
name Skrelling or Skræling, which is known to have been app
them centuries afterward, the "skin-boats," the slings, and c
physical characteristics. Its weakness lies chiefly in the a
of clothing at Hóp, of dogs and sleds, of winter traveling, of d
tively Eskimo appliances such as the kayak and harpoon, and
indication of skill in carving; also in the fact that everything s
the Skrellings would apply to some Indians, who might have
there.

We have touched lightly before on the question of boun
yet may still add a word. We know the Eskimo only as an
littoral people, ill content with a milder habitat and not th

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[1] Vol. 1, pp. 180–185.

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them from Asia as some suppose. They have often clashed in defen
with Athapascan or Algonquian tribes, sometimes, though rarel
have taken the aggressive; and occasionally a particular district h
been alternately occupied or overrun by one or the other contestar
But in the main it must be said that the Eskimo have been conte
to hold their ground along shores not desired by other people, a
are to be considered as doing so from choice, not because driv
thither and held there by enemies. Woods and warmth have nev
tempted them in historic times. While the ice-cap border was movi
northward, we may suppose a slow shifting of their southern limit
the same direction. After the ice-cap was quite gone from the mai
land, they dwelt still on those northern shores which gave them t
life that they know. Sometimes they moved southward along the
shores a little way, regaining regions of their former occupancy as
the coast-line only.

Packard[3] says "When the French first frequented the coast,
was in possession of the Equimaux as far up as the end of Anticos
Apparently they had not been long in possession." They seem al
to have been contending for a foothold on Newfoundland, but
was never more than precarious. There are also a few slight a
doubtful indications that parties of them landed on the northe
shore of New Brunswick. It is their utmost southward point, ev
of reconnoissance or exploration, so far as we know; and if Profess
Packard's[4] inference be right, they would have been more remo
before the movement of which he tells us. Undoubtedly they m
have come southward before; but they would not wish to come fa

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[1] H. J. Rink: On the Descent of the Eskimo. Arctic Papers for the Exp
dition of 1875, pp. 271–273. Journ. Anthr. Inst., 1872.

[2] W. Thalbitzer: The Eskimo Language, p. 21.

[3] Packard: The Coast of Labrador, p. 260.

[4] W. Thalbitzer: The Eskimo Language, p. 20.

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successive conquests and revolutions in the Valley of Mexic
corresponding waves of mankind northeastward by way of Ta
till at last they drove out of New England the Skrellings who
Norsemen found there. This may be paired off with the Artl
conquest of Iceland, as a bit of theoretical ballooning.

Dr. Fiske[2] no doubt presents the kernel of the matter in rem
all that we do not assert the identity of Fuegians and Austr
by calling them savages. The meaning of the word (weak
seems to have been about that among the Norsemen.[3] We find
applying it not only to their Hóp visitors, but to the men in " dou
found at a distant point, and to the bearded Marklander and his
panions, with no thought of ethnological distinctions, but in
facile disparagement. What else could be their view of the
people who had no ships nor woven fabrics, no jewels nor arm
live stock nor grain, nor steel weapons, nor good tools, nor mone
proper European clothing; dusky people too, not pleasing in no
eyes? Such were contemptibly insignificant; it was hardly
while to distinguish differences among them.

Dr. Nansen may be right in thinking that the name (lik
of Finn for Laplanders and, as he points out, two other in
peoples) came to have an implication of mythical beings or of r
but the fact is irrelevant.[4]

The natives who visited them at Hóp were their very first
mens, and the Norsemen fitted the word to them in the spirit
applies derogatory nicknames like injun, nigger, dago, and sh
to people despised by the utterer. It was then ready for any
of like status, and might even be applied conjecturally, by a

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[1] Schoolcraft: Indian Tribes of the United States. Drake's edition, p. 84.

[2] J. Fiske: The Discovery of America, pp. 181–185.

[3] Fr. Nansen: Eskimo Life.

[4] In Northern Mists, vol. 2, pp 11–20.

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ments such that it may be perceived from these that that manner o the people had been there who have inhabited Wineland and whon the Greenlanders call Skrellings. And this when he set about th colonization of the country was 14 or 15 winters before the intro duction of Christianity here in Iceland, according to which a certai man who himself accompanied Eric the Red thither, informed Thor kell Gellison."

Broken boats, tools, and dwellings defined as savages (Skrellings the former occupants, who had probably withdrawn to the north ward[1] or kept at home there, refraining from southward journey and therefore they were presumably like the other Skrellings alread encountered in Wineland. In other words, the Winelanders were nc called Skrellings because there were Eskimo already known, but th Eskimo, long before they were seen, were called Skrellings by con jecture, because the word had come to Iceland traditionally fron American adventures then a century old. Of course the two kinc of Skrelling (savage) might be utterly dissimilar, according to ou modern standards.

Perhaps it was in the twelfth century,[2] perhaps not till the thirteent century, that Norse hunters in upper Greenland met small " Skrel ings," who used stone knives and whalebone arrowheads—Eskim undoubtedly—as related by a manuscript discovered in Scotland i the nineteenth century.[3] The greater Greenland landowners ha hunting lodges, as we may call them, at the north, and kept ships t sail there; so such contact must happen at last.

In the year 1266 an expedition was sent to find out about then as before mentioned, and seems to have gone very far north, indee

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[1] Fr. Nansen: Eskimo Life, Chap. 5.
[2] G. Storm: Studies on the Vineland Voyages.
[3] W. Thalbitzer: Eskimo Language, p. 22.

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tioned, says that " The Speculum Regale was written in Old Norse Norway in the middle of the thirteenth century," that it discusses a dry, matter-of-fact way divers Greenland matters, like insulari the aurora borealis, glaciers, climate, the fauna, exports and impo and the means of human subsistence, but has not a word for Eskimo. Surely the writer knew nothing definite about the although some border settler might have been able to tell him.

It was the year 1337 at the earliest when Ivar Bardsen went w a relief expedition to the western settlement, a little too late. I narrative, written later in Norway, shows that the Greenland coloni can have had no considerable contact with the natives before fourteenth century. The Icelanders can have had no idea of them the time Hauk's book was copied, still less a hundred years earl when the saga was written. Neither Thorfinn, nor the unkno saga-man, nor the Lawman Hauk, who gives us the earliest surviv manuscript, can reasonably be charged with using Skrelling in special sense of Eskimo. If the Hóp natives are to be held Eskimo must be on other evidence.

The Saga of Eric the Red (A. M. 557) says: " They were sm men and ill looking, and the hair of their heads was ugly. They h great eyes and were broad of cheek." The Saga of Thorfinn Karlse substitutes " swarthy " for " small." The Flateybook Wineland Sa states that the native chief was tall and of good figure.

Stature and comeliness make an uncertain reliance. The Eski are not all squat people. Those of southern Greenland are s to be taller than those in the north. The Long Labrador Trail Dillon Wallace tells us:

> In our old school geographies we used to see them pictured as stockily b little fellows. In real life they compare well in stature with the white man of temperate zone. With a few exceptions, the Eskimo of Ungava average o five feet eight inches in height with some six footers.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

[2] Studies on the Vineland Voyages, pp. 307, 370.

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The Eskimo from Bering Strait to the lower Yukon are fairly well-built peop
averaging among the men about five feet two or three inches in height. Th
Yukon Eskimo and those living southward from the river to the Kuskokwi
are, as a rule, shorter and more squarely built . . . and all of the people in th
district about Capes Vancouver and Romanzof, and thence to the Yuko
mouth, . . . all are very short.

Of the Norton Sound Eskimo, Dall[3] writes that he has often see both men and women six feet high and that some of the men ar still taller. Also that the men have great strength, one being able t take a hundred pound bag of flour in each hand and another by hi teeth and walk off thus burdened.

As to the eyes in particular, he reports that they are " small, blac and almost even with the face," also that the " women are sometime quite pretty." Lieutenant Holm[4] admits that Eskimo have not larg eyes, but asserts the same of Indians, disqualifying both; yet th Skrellings were natives of some kind. Captain Robinson,[5] as quote at second hand by Patterson in his valuable little work, describe Mary March, a Beothuk prisoner, as having black eyes, " larger an more intelligent than those of the Eskimo." The two types wer neighbors and naturally chosen for comparison by one who knew the both.

Wide divergences are noted in complexion, in physiognomy, i hairiness of the face, in the proportions of the body and limbs between the Eskimo of different districts. Thus we have a puzzlin absence of uniformity in a race which is considered unusuall

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[1] The Hudson Bay Eskimo. Eleventh Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol., 1889-1890, p. 179.

[2] The Eskimo About Bering Strait. Eighteenth Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer Ethnol., 1896–1897, pp. 26, 28.

[3] W. H. Dall: Alaska, pp. 137–140.

[4] A. M. Reeves: The Finding of Wineland the Good. Notes.

[5] Rev. Geo. Patterson: The Beothicks of Newfoundland, p. 146.

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been called giants even by other Indians. The Zuñi are us short; the Nez Percés often tall. At the east it was the same. Iroquois and some Algonquian tribes towered over their neigh Strachey[1] describes the Susquehannock as "a giant-like peo the Wicomico as "of little stature and very rude"; but they dwelt on rivers emptying into the same generous Chesapeake and their conditions were identical. The few Micmac whom I seen appeared under medium height. The Nanticoke do not gr pass that standard.

As to the other items, compare this description by Verrazano:[2]

The complexion of these people is black, not much different from that c Ethiopians. Their hair is black and thick and not very long; it is wor back upon the head in the form of a little tail. In person they are of proportions, of middle stature, a little above our own; broad across the b strong in the arms, and well formed in other parts of the body. The exception to their good looks is that they have broad faces; but not all, f saw many that had sharp ones, with large black eyes and fixed expression. are not very strong in body, but acute in mind, active and swift of foot.

Here in close juxtaposition we have the breadth of face, w Brereton[3] and Gosnold also observed on Cape Cod; the swarthi the large eyes, "middle stature," and such peculiarities of ha might well displease a Norseman or a Celt; but who will take early Carolinians for Eskimo? On the other hand, he describe Narraganset Indians as tall and

of very fair complexion; some of them incline more to a white, others tawney color; their faces are sharp; their hair long and black and sharp, expression mild and pleasant, greatly resembling the antique.

But again he found the Maine Indians "rude and barbarous" "very different." They "made the most brutal signs of disd

Similarly a southwestern Federal judge, lately deceased—a of strong intellect and keen perception, with no theories to sust

[1] W. Strachey: The Historie of Travaile into Virginia, p. 41.

[2] Translation in Old South Leaflets.

[3] J. Brereton: A Briefe Relation of the Discoverie of the North P Virginia by Gosnold. The Bibliographer, 1902, p. 33. Old South Leaflets,

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If we turn to trained and eminent ethnologists, we find no stronger advocate of Indian unity than Dr. Brinton, author of The American Race; but who can read his summary of the characteristics of South American tribes, for example, without feeling that his witnesses turn against him? Some of these people, it appears, are nearly white, others nearly black, with a cavalier defiance of latitude and isothermal lines in both cases. Here is a bestial-featured tribe, there a noble one; here a tall people, there a horde of dwarfs; and on the borders of humane, ancient, widely extended civilization—or something very near it—a mere débris of human derelicts and incapables. Dr. Brinton proves that too much has been made of the homogeneity of the American Indians.

As already suggested, the truth seems to be that American Indians, when first encountered, comprised more than a few survivals of earlier rudimentary peoples often partly assimilated, as well as some intrusive elements, occasionally higher in type and culture and of uncertain origin. Furthermore they had developed heterogeneously in diverse conditions. They still differ among themselves—considering the two American continents together—in many ways. Yet if we were called on to name their most salient and generally characteristic features we should all probably select their cheek-bones, color, hair, and eyes. It is significant that these were noted particularly by the observant Norsemen. That the cheeks are usually prominent rather than broad, the eyes conspicuously keen rather than conspicuously large, and that swarthy is hardly the best word for the peculiar tint of their complexion, are matters of detail, easily variable. Subsequent transmitters would be likely to make a few careless or poetic changes, if the original narrators did not; also the visitors were judged by the standard height of the European North, for these Icelandic observers had perhaps never seen a man who was not of the white race. If the word " short " were used, as in one saga, we have only to suppose that Indians of the Wicomico pattern stood before them; Micmac visitors might call forth the statement. In all this,

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gested an intimate relationship to our own Indians.[1] Thus v
two independent observers of different nations instructively s
as Indian the same features as the saga and even using i
doubtful adjective.

The general impression left by their conduct is surely th
Love of bright colors; improvidence in bargaining;[3] impuls
in curiosity, suspicion, alarm, and vindictive retaliation; readi
discard a tool which they could not understand; sudden panic
what must have seemed to them an outburst of insanity—
surely unsophisticated Indian in psychology, though they
happen to be displayed by Eskimo. The last item is an imp
typical example, for all accounts agree that such visitatic
peculiarly daunting to the red-man, being looked upon as di
diabolical possession, in the ancient way. From Cooper dov
have been a stock expedient of Indian romance-writers. His '
slayer" presents vividly the consideration accorded by the Iro
most merciless of all fierce peoples—to even a mild form of de

On their part the Icelanders behaved better than man
colonists; dealing fairly, after their light, though getting the
side of the bargain with these simple folk, and not using their w
except in defense, until after they had lost one of their best m
wanton attack, as it would seem to them, and had been fo
abandon their pleasant homes and their hopeful venture. Kar
quick-tempered bull was the chief culprit, bringing trouble a
to all human beings concerned. He stands out as one of t
quadrupeds which have meddled with history.

From this episode, common to all these Wineland sagas,
been inferred, not quite convincingly, that these natives hac
seen a bison. Hence Laing (preface to Heimskringla) believ

[1] C. H. Hawes: In the Uttermost East, p. 135.

[2] G. Kennan: Tent Life in Siberia, p. 171.

[3] W. H. Dall: Tribes of the Extreme Northwest, p. 238. ("A piece o
cloth for a dressed deerskin".)

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well be right, although the Orkneyman's position is not really absurd.
A straggling bison[2] was killed about 1790 or 1800 near Lewisburg on the Susquehanna, and there are indications of their former presence about as far east at other points. They were plentiful in parts of the Pennsylvania mountains, yet it is unlikely that they ever crossed the Hudson.

Moreover, the bison herds came late into the Appalachian region and left early. Shaler's[3] excavations near a Kentucky saltlick showed lowest, a considerable depth of mammoth bones; then, those of muskox when the glacier front was but little way northward; finally the bison, with every appearance of recentness. Few of their remains are found in even the later mounds of the Mississippi drainage. From all indications and with the aid of the best ethnologists, Shaler inferred that the culture of these agricultural people and builders of the great defensive earthworks was in full flower about the year 1000 (Leif's date) and that the bison at that time had not crossed the Mississippi, coming eastward, but were all probably still near the Rocky Mountains. He suspects them of tempting the mound builders afterward out of their incipient civilization and into burning the woods to make buffalo pastures. But the menace of these wild herds to the hundred acre cornfields, also the attacks of hordes of savages traveling with or after them, would perhaps have still more to do with the final breaking up.

How far an acquaintance with bison would prepare the Hó natives to receive with equanimity the charge of the settlers' bu is a metaphysical question I can not answer. Perhaps they suppose his challenge to be incited by their entertainers, especially if the Norsemen laughed at them, as we may guess they unwisely di Thus viewed, Indians might see insult, treachery, and deadly dang

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[1] W. T. Hornaday: The Extermination of the American Bison. Ann. Re U. S. Nat. Mus., 1887.

[2] Allen: History of the American Bison. U. S. Geol. and Geogr. Survey Colorado (1875), p. 443.

[3] Nature and Man in America, pp. 181–186.

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east, being shown to Gosnold[1] on Cape Cod in 1620, besides earlier entries. The few survivors of the Roanoke massacre, ac ing to Powhatan (see Strachey), were employed as slaves in be it out for a chief. Some of it may have been mined in the mount but the chief source of supply regularly worked seems to have the shores of the upper lakes, as the chief source of gold supply probably central Mexico. But the transfer of such article materials, whether by barter or through migration, must depen intervening peoples, and the conditions of one century are not n sarily those of another even among uncivilized men.

The earthwork builders of Ohio might, if they chose, absorb hold most of the southeastern flow of copper until they were d from their strongholds; whether they were Sioux, Cherokee, Mar Appalachian, or of the remoter southwest; whether a tempo league of the Algonquians and the Iroquois overcame them, or fell under the attack of hunting Dakota; and whether they went ward beyond the Mississippi, or into the mountains as Cheroke were scattered among many tribes—all debatable hypotheses w have been advanced, but need not be rediscussed here; and w not know when the working began of the meager supplies after obtained, as we are told, in Virginia and New Jersey. In this of the case, copper would not probably reach New England from quarter by Thorfinn's time. Whatever the reason, the seab tribes about Hóp do not then seem to have possessed it. But does not at all imply any lack of such adornments at that place a centuries later.

As already noticed, these people apparently wore no garn worth mentioning, very likely only Nauset grass aprons or a di utive form of breech-clout. They can not then have been Esl

[1] Brereton's Briefe Relation, before cited. Old South Leaflets; and The ographer, 1902, p. 33.

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were not uncommon in many Indian villages as pets or sacrifices, or to aid in hunting or serve for food. But these people came to Hóp always by water, apparently from some rather distant point southward, and on such excursions the dogs would most likely be left behind. Besides lack of room in the boats, they might interfere with the plans of a war party or even disturb trading. Moreover, early travelers often do not mention them, and presumably they were rare in some tribes. The Indians had no such imperative need for them as the Eskimo, and might be much later in acquiring them along the Atlantic coast. We have no real reason to suppose their presence among the New England Algonquians in the year 1000, but it would be a marvel if they were not then drawing the Eskimo of Labrador, and indeed of all quarters, over the snow.

There is no hint, either, in the saga of the faithful and spirited bone-carving and other sculpture and artistry, which made Prof. Boyd Dawkins in Cave Hunting conjecturally identify the Innuit with the paleolithic European cave-dwellers. Both had the seeing eye and the cunning hand, also a sense of the picturesque, along with patient industry in embodiment. Our northeastern Indian picture makers were infantile and freakish in comparison. The Norsemen would neither have heeded nor mentioned such "Skrelling" efforts.

It may be repeated as important that we hear of no kayak, nor of any of the accouterments which ordinarily pertained to the kayaker. Why should Thorfinn be less impressed by this unique Eskimo craft than were Antonio Zeno, Baffin,[3] and Lescarbot? We have seen reason to suppose that one Eskimo and his kayak quite appalled Thorfinn's party in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Surely the reappearance of the phenomenon, multiplied, would not have been disregarded —whether in confirmation or explanation. By "boats" we must

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[1] Hakluyt's Principal Voyages (1904), vol. 7, pp. 225, 413.

[2] Fr. Nansen: Eskimo Life, p. 8.

[3] C. R. Markham: Voyages of Baffin, p. 14. (Catonle's Relation). See also Olaus Magnus: A Compendious History, p. 20 (transl. pub. by Streater); as to Greenland boats "not so much above, as beneath the surface."



without it.

If we consider the Skrellings ("weaklings") of Hóp to be In
the above items offer no difficulty. They went naked or near
because the weather was mild, as at Nauset, except in the de
winter. They did not use a harpoon and float, nor carve sp
animal figures in bone, because the former did not belong
customs nor the latter to the tendencies and capabilities of their
Probably they had never seen anything so Arctic and un-Ind
a dog-sled or a kayak. But what can be said for an old-time E
in Labrador without any of these things? Yet Professor Fernal
example, seems to think that the Hóp Skrellings were Eskim
that Wineland was in Labrador.

The brandishing of staves (paddles ?) in the direction of the
course to show amity, or reversely by way of defiance, cannot be
indicative of either people. Norse folklore would predispos
observers to illusion on such points—witness the direful Moo
Wierd which traveled in the latter fashion about the hall of F
water before the eyes of living men and women doomed to g
hauntings or to death. The normal circuit would bear the co
and conciliatory meaning. Of course Thorfinn and Snorri inter
these movements by the facial expression, the tones, and other i
tions of the mood of the approaching men. Finding them
understood, the latter would emphasize and repeat the gesture,
if it were at first accidental, or would naturally reverse it to c
a contrary message. But after all the signs may also have
customary with them exactly as seen, for these might suggest
selves by the contrast of natural and unnatural in any mind.
tell us nothing.

The native boats came three times, with dramatically pres
climax. First "nine skin canoes" drawn by mere curiosity; sec

[1] Fr. Nansen: Eskimo Life, p. 46.

[2] Eyrbyggja Saga. Morris's and Magnusson's translation.

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words—perhaps we ought not to be very certain about such a detai
They had seen at least fragments of skin-covered boats in Greenland as we know from Ari and Thorkel Gellison,[1] and may have beer predisposed to assume identity of covering in two articles not unlik at a distance, or even very near, as Dr. Storm has suggested. A dark-tinted birch-bark-covered canoe, such as I have seen on th shore of Lake Superior, might well be taken for one covered witl equally dark and smooth porpoise hide or cured sealskin or the pre pared and hairless skin of any marine animal, especially by a man wh expected the latter and was uncritical in distinguishing. Moreover th saga-man would remember the hide-covered boats of Ireland and othe European countries, but would never think of tree-bark as a probabl covering material. He might even suppose that he was makin a strictly necessary correction by such a change. Indeed both cover ings are really skins, animal or vegetable. The name "woodskin" is still commonly applied to the bullet-tree bark boats in use on the Es sequibo River. Mr. Kirke's Twenty-five Years in British Guiana presents a neat parallel (by reversal) to an error of observation suc as Dr. Storm suggests in this case. It appears that a "woodskin," be ing suddenly lifted from the water, was taken for an alligator or som other animal, hide and all, creating a brief panic, which even th Indian boatman shared. So, vegetable skin has been and may b mistaken for animal; then why not animal for vegetable?—and wha is there in the bark of the "black birch," more than in that of th rubber tree, to secure immunity from mistake? It may be that man people, considering the matter, have the pretty delicate bark of th white paper birch in mind; but that would not answer. Indeed, n bark is so good as some woven fabrics, and the Passamaquoddy a least have now generally accepted the latter as canoe-covering; fo the Indian is not so hopelessly unadaptable as he is painted.

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[1] G. Storm: Studies on the Vineland Voyages.

[2] Page 466.

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boat hugging the occupant's body. It is not to be doubted, eit that the ancient conservative Eskimo had the kayak in Thorfi time.

But some say that Indians never used skin-boats. It appears they did when there was a reason. The Dakota[2] women cro: prairie rivers in coracles, or " bull-boats " of buffalo-hide; the Oma also made skin-covered boats and used them; the same assertio made of the Nascopie,[4] and Dr. Brinton[5] presents a more stri relevant instance in the statement that the Beothuk of Newfoundl had both " bark-canoes and skin-canoes." They were not confine inland navigation, either, till the last. Whitbourne (1622) s: " Which canoes are the boats that they used to go to sea in," and Rev. George Patterson,[6] who quotes him, remarks: " Their sean ship was evinced by their visiting Funk Island 40 miles from the n est point of land "—a trip which they seem to have made twic year after eggs and young birds. Cartwright[7] also lays stress on seafaring skill. Unless Dr. Brinton be in error, we have only to s pose a sufficient southward extension of the Beothuk at the oper of the eleventh century, and nothing remains of the skin-boat ar ment in favor of the Eskimo. Nor were these Beothuk half- between the races, as Lieutenant Holm, by analogy with the Al seems to fancy; for their appliances, works, ways, and language far as yet rescued by ethnologists, reveal a surprising individua distinctly of the Indian type, though a few things may have b

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[1] W. H. Dall: Alaska and its resources, p. 138.

[2] W J McGee: The Siouan Indians. Fifteenth Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Eth p. 172.

[3] F. S. Dellenbaugh: The North Americans of Yesterday, p. 284.

[4] R. C. Haliburton: A Search for Lost Colonies. Pop. Sci. Mo., vol. 27, p

[5] Brinton: The American Race, pp. 40, 67.

[6] Rev. Geo. Patterson: The Beothiks or Red Indians of Newfoundland, p.

[7] Journal republished 1911.

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shaped from a tree-trunk and heavy but durable. Something light was needed for the northern portages in the region torn by th glaciers, and there only the canoe-birch offered itself, with the el as a poor substitute when the former was not plentiful; also, goin northward, the size of tree trunks lessened until at last a canoe coul not be hollowed and carved but must be put together as a frame an covering.

The word "canoe" on the Chesapeake still means primarily vessel made from one or more tree-trunks. They are often large, ofte swift and graceful under sail, besides being the most unsinkable cra afloat; and "canoe-regattas" in this sense have been held annual off Talbot County for many years.

This was almost as exclusively the case in southern New Englan where canoe-birch trees of good size were rare, if existent, and the was little or no need for portages. Verrazano was visited at Narr gansett Bay by Indians in dugouts only, and describes them Champlain tells us just how they were manufactured farther nort Thus far, following the general trend of these arguments, I hav compared one kind of frame-boat with another, but it is most like that the boats which were paddled into Hóp had no need of any fram or any covering, although their dark and water-polished sides migh resemble smooth bark or smooth hide. Their material of cours would be really more akin to the fireplace brands or dark woode "coals," with which in the distance they are compared by the sag But in truth our Norsemen would trouble themselves little about th details of such matters. The furs for sale and the unusual weapo were far more interesting.

Naturally, emphasis has been laid on the latter; which were nea bringing destruction on the colony, and which surprise us ye

Slings have long been considered by many a non-Indian weapo

[1] A. R. Wallace: Narrative of Travels on the Amazon, p. 358.


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But it appears that some of the northeastern Indians of the
fifteenth century were slingers too. The map attributed to Seb
Cabot and now in the National Library at Paris is provided with
in Spanish and Latin, which Harrisse[2] attributes to Grajales, an
Spanish editor. Note 8 is in both languages, and includes a l
weapons used by the inhabitants of the Isle of St. John. Harr
English translation is: "This land was discovered by John Ca
Venetian and Sebastian his son the year of the redemption o
world 1494 on the 24th of July at the fifth hour of daybreak, v
land they called the first land seen and a large island opposite the
St. John, because it was discovered on the solemn festival o
John. The inhabitants[3] of that country are dressed in the ski
animals. They use in war bows, arrows, darts, lances, wooden
and *slings.*" Note 17 declares that the map was delineated in 15

Hakluyt appears to have known of an extract from a map v
was "hung up in the privy gallery at Whitehall." His copy in
repeats the words sagittis, hastis spiculis, clavis ligneris et *fu*

A German work in Latin, brought to light by Dr. Major, c
nineteen inscriptions from a map which the author had see
Oxford in 1556, containing the same entry. Its seventeenth
avers that "Sebastian Cabot, Captain and Pilot, of his Sacred,
Majesty put upon me the finishing hand in a plane figure in the
1549." The map at Paris[4] was obtained from a Bavarian clergy
and its earlier history seems unknown. But it seems reasonably
established that a map was made about the middle of the sixt
century by or under the direction of Sebastian Cabot which attril
slings to the Indians of St. John Island on the American coa

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[1] Hakluyt's Principal Voyages, vol. 7, p. 400. Also Markham's Voyage
Works of John Davis.

[2] Trans. Royal Soc. Canada, 1898, p. 105.

[3] Quoted also in Packard: The Coast of Labrador, and in several
works before cited.

[4] G. E. Weare: Cabot's Discovery of North America, vol. 1, p. 261.

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Most likely Avalon Peninsula,[2] shown as an island by some of th
older maps, was Cabot's Isle of St. John. Its slingers would hav
been Beothuk, then, or perhaps invading Micmac—whom Fiske ma
have had in mind when stating in The Discovery of America tha
slings would be as proper to Micmac as to Eskimo.

At the present time slings[4] are not found in use at any neare
point than the Pueblos of the upper Rio Grande; but they hol
their ground very well in many parts of South America, always
with Mexico and intervening regions—the main home and head
quarters of their race.[5] Sling-using begins at the bottom of the map
with the almost Antarctic and altogether wretched Yahgans o
Tierra del Fuego; and Bandelier has lately found it as active as eve
in the village fights beside Lake Titicaca, the cradle of the mos
humane culture and the widest and best ordered governmental organi
zation in the New World before the white man came. He writes:
"A number are badly wounded now and then and some of them ar
killed, for the Indian is a dangerous expert with the sling." Agai
we read of "his sling, for which the women provide round pebbles i
their skirts."

At the opening of the sixteenth century, the sling-territory extende
very much farther northward. Maya cities employed this weapon
Aztec armies had their slingers no less than those of the Incas. Dr
Friederici,[7] gleaning from early Spanish, French, and English narra

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[1] J. Winsor: From Cartier to Frontenac. Narr. Crit. Hist. Amer.

[2] W. S. Wallace's Historical Introduction to Labrador," by W. T. Grenfe
and others.

[3] M. F. Howley: The Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland, p. 53.

[4] Where they are chiefly in use by children, as Mr. Spinden of th
Am. Museum relates.

[5] Brinton: The American Race, p. 331.

[6] A. F. Bandelier: The Islands of Titicaca and Koati, pp. 88, 115.

[7] A. Petermann's Geographische Mitteilungen, 1911, Heft 2 (pl. 13).


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no means makes its presence there improbable six hundred yea
earlier.

The great noisy body which was cast on the ground behind t
Norsemen is something quite unique in historic Indian warfar
Higginson[2] suggested that it might be a harpoon with a bladd
float. Schoolcraft[3] more plausibly identified it with a tradition
but long obsolete form of giant club wielded by several men and said
have beén in use during the severe wars of the Ojibwa, fiercest a
most powerful of Algonquian tribes, as they moved westward to t
upper lakes. It was prepared by shrinking a deer's hide around
large and heavy stone and on the end of a pole, to which it was boun
Of course the crashing effect would be great. But it does not ful
correspond to the Skrellings' monstrous and unheard of creation.

The Skrellings raised up on poles a great ball-shaped body, almost the si
of a sheep's belly and nearly black in color, and this they hurled from t
poles upon the land above Karlsefni's followers and it made a frightful no
where it fell. Whereat a great fear fell upon Karlsefni and all his men, for
seemed to them that the troop of the Skrellings was rushing toward them fro
every side.

The nearest analogue would be a hand-grenade; but Thorfinn cou
not know of such a thing. Before the arrival of the next white me
it was utterly forgotten. Whether truly reported in the saga or no
it stands an unsolved mystery, having a very ancient look.

Dr. Fiske accepted Schoolcraft's Ojibwa explanation as concl
sive. Nevertheless, Mr. James Mooney, who has spent much tir
among divers Indian tribes, tells me that he cannot make it agr

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[1] For instances of former use in what is now Spanish-America cons
Herbert Spencer's Descriptive Sociology, part 2, the works of Brinton, Mar
ham, H. H. Bancroft, and others already cited.

[2] T. W. Higginson and W. MacDonald: History of the United States. Editi
1905, p. 39.

[3] H. R. Schoolcraft: American Indians, vol. 1, p. 73.


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adequately answer, there is a rush of a group of Indians carrying great poles, with something huge, black, and uncanny poised above them, and this is cast, amid such a pandemonium of sound as wild Indians best can raise, over the heads of the defenders, beyond them on the ground, where there is a tremendous additional uproar, reinforced by the echoes from the wood border. At once the Norsemen feel, hear (and so see) enemies, on every side; panic takes them and they rush for a more defensible position, the women streaming out of the string of cabins to join the race, and Thorbrand, son of Snorri, Karlsefni's friend, being stricken down just ahead of Freydis within the wood-border by one of the missiles that come showering after them. She snatches his sword and turns, wild with fear and defiant anger, just as the Norsemen, rallying, turn also on the wooded Fall River Bluffs behind her, and come back ashamed of their fear. Then the Indians, not always good at pressing home a victory won, (or they might have annihilated Braddock's force notwithstanding the rear-guard stand of the colonial rangers), yield in their turn and paddle away.

This is all consistent and most probable, granting the original panic, but something more than " a giant club " is required to explain it. Thus far a satisfactory explanation is not forthcoming. Possibly the solid " demon's head " suggested a hollow one, capable of being detachable from its support and cast by several poles together a good way up the hillside. If not some such clever invention of the moment, it must be a Norse reminiscence incorporated by the saga-man, as Dr. Nansen[1] has acutely suggested.

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[1] Fr. Nansen: In Northern Mists, vol. 2, p. 8.

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forth the great contrast between the florid and preposterous ext agances of the Celtic sea stories and the sanity of the exploring of Thorfinn Karlsefni's story, and of all that concerns him, ind Leif's story also, wherein can be found only a bare hint of the oc such as people even of our own time never quite wholly and con sively disbelieve. He may have made it even more nearly cer if possible than before that the Celtic and Scandinavian sea t meeting in Ireland and Iceland, had a moderate reciprocal influe but if the Icelanders were indebted mainly to Ireland for the n and story of Wineland, it seems entirely probable that their borrov would have included in great measure the distinctive extravaga of Bran, Maelduin, St. Brandan, and their kind. It almost passes bounds of possibility that the saga-man who wove the spectral mar and picturesque magic of his own people into the Greenland part o narrative should have ignored all the prodigies and impressive ins unrealities of the Irish writings and traditions if really familiar them and drawing from that source in the exploring part of his s —and have confined himself almost entirely to matter-of-fact ite which fit with such astonishing accuracy the probable American sh line of his time and the absolute certainties of American vegetable animal life. The voyage record seems to be an accurate rep detailed though brief, as sensible and as credible in all essential any modern official document.

Dr. Nansen asserts that the Norsemen "steered straight across Atlantic itself and discovered North America";[2] that the "c craft of the Norwegian Vikings, with their square sails, fared n and west over the whole ocean, from Novaya Zemlya and Spitsber to Greenland, Baffin's Bay, Newfoundland and North America

[1] Fridtjof Nansen: In Northern Mists. Arctic Exploration in Early Ti translated by Arthur G. Chater; New York, 1911, vol. 2, pp. 58–62.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 234.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 248.

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land ship driven by stress of weather to Iceland in 1347, her c
reporting an intervening visit to Markland. But, after all, how c
he be sure that these seamen told the truth? Why are they more tru
worthy than Gudleif, whose visit to Biorn in some land of the w
has been mentioned already, except that he gives us tests of accura
which fail, and their meager story supplies no tests? Moreover,
we quite sure of the accuracy of the first annalist and possible int
vening narrators? The statement is a bare sentence or two in leng
credible enough in view of what we know from the saga and valua
as cumulative corroboration. But it will not do for the historic c
nerstone of any evidence; nor does it make Markland a whit m
historic that Helluland or Wineland. The main features of the
ploring part of the saga tale are connected in a chain and of the sa
degree of reliability. They must stand or fall together.

If the name Wineland be objectionable, we might give up
poetry of it without disaster. As above indicated, Dr. Nansen see
to agree exactly and fully with our version of the itinerary of th
early explorers, at least as far as the Atlantic coast below Cape Brè
island and their temporary settlement in a more southerly Indi
populated region, called Hóp, in the saga. Beyond that he su
marizes his conclusions under the following twenty-two points wh
it seems proper here to consider in succession, with some comme
from my own observations. Dr. Nansen says:[1]

If we now look back upon all the problems it has been sought to solv
this chapter, the impression may be a somewhat heterogeneous and nega
one; the majority will doubtless be struck at the outset by the multiplicity of
paths, and by the intercrossing due to this multiplicity. But if we force
way through the network of by-paths and follow up the essential leading li
it appears to me that there is established a firm and powerful series of con
sions, which it will not be easy to shake. The most important steps in
series are:

(1) The oldest authority,[2] Adam of Bremen's work, in which Winelan
mentioned, is untrustworthy, and with the exception of the name and of

[1] In Northern Mists, vol. 2, pp. 58 *et seq.*

[2] The Ringerike runic stone is not given here, as its mention of Winel
is uncertain.

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bot's. They are here still. They make strongly for verisim
and to the saga's credit.

(2) The oldest Icelandic authorities that mention the name of "V
or in the "Landnáma," "Vindland hit Góða," say nothing about its di
or about the wine there; on the other hand, Ari Frode mentions the '
ings" (who must originally have been regarded as a fairy people). Tl
of Leif Ericson is mentioned, unconnected with Wineland or its dis

Full statements could not be expected in each relic of an a
fragmentary literature. Ari's lost Islendingabók probably se
the full account. Entries a little later present the above ite
gether. Mere evidence by omission is rarely cogent. It canno
onably override the positive evidence referred to and the g
prevailing tradition. If it could, it would merely change the
of the discoverer, for it is admitted that some one sailed from N
and found America by the direct passage. If not Leif, who sl
named? And is there more evidence that an anonymous Nor
did it rather than that Leif did it?

(3) It is not till well on in the thirteenth century that Leif's surn
Heppni, his discovery of Wineland ("Vínland" or "Vindland"), a
Christianizing of Greenland are mentioned (in the "Kristni-saga" and "
skringla"), but still there is nothing about wine.

This fact may be unfortunate, but what does it disprove?
father Eric was never called "Lucky" so far as we know,
created Norse Greenland. It does not seem important that a
epithet should always be found with his name in the few sur
pre-thirteenth-century manuscripts.

(4) It is not till the close of the thirteenth century that any infor
occurs as to what and where Wineland was, with statements as to the w
wheat there, and a description of voyages thither (in the Saga of Eric the
But still the accounts omit to inform us who gave the name and why.

In other words, the location of Wineland was not mentio
far as we know, till Hauk Erlendsson made the earliest copy

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That is true. The natural course of development is for a later version to elaborate hints and weave stories about names, filling in any floating legendary data which may come to hand. This is especially true in a decadent artificial period, even at its beginning. The Flatey-book narrative is not unique in its method and qualities, but is a very bad example.

(6) The first of the two sagas, and the one which is regarded as more to be relied on, contains scarcely a single feature that is not wholly or in part mythical or borrowed from elsewhere; both sagas have an air of romance.

This is far from the case, for Helluland, Markland, Kiallarness, are all admitted by Nansen to exist. Straumey, Straumfiord, the mountains, Hóp, the seal headland are veritable. The courses around the great ness into and out of the Gulf are accurately and carefully given. Biarney is true to fact. The Wonderstrands are the typical American coast line found on no other Atlantic shore of which any Icelander short of the fifteenth century would be likely even to hear. The Indians, products, climate, and breeding places are authentic. The Uniped was probably an Eskimo in his kayak. The Greenland part of the tale has many embroideries of fancy. There are divers ballads turned to prose attached to the exploring narrative; but they do not invalidate or obscure it. The saga-man might have chosen *ad libitum* magical cats and dog-footed monsters, the roc-phoenix and the island of unending laughter, holy white-furred hermits and angels who waited on the table, Judas and his hounding devils, the sea-monster that took the saint a-traveling on its back, the isle of women, the pool of youth, and the river of death. His Celtic sources (as supposed) would have done this. Why did he stick to the facts instead? Surely because he was not following Celtic models, but relating facts.

(7) Even among the Greeks of antiquity we find myths of fortunate isles far in the western ocean, with the two characteristic features of Wineland, the wine and the wheat.

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Madeira; the fourteenth century map-makers knew them doubtingly as The Fortunate Isles of St. Brandan. Their obv attributes corroborated the ideal. We are not justified in saying clusively that this was or was not the end of the process. Bu anyone crossed the Atlantic in warm latitudes, as Cabral did by a dent and Columbus by intention, they would find like beau repeated. Before "mythical islands" can justly be used to dispr anything we must be sure they were mythical. Even then it wo not be necessary to assume that men, in reporting things that re are, had borrowed from fanciful stories.

(8) The most significant features in the description of these Fortunate I or Isles of the Blest, in late classical times and in Isidore are the self-grow wild-growing vine (on the heights) and the wild-growing (uncultivated, sown or unsown) corn or wheat or even cornfields (Isidore). In addition t were lofty trees (Pliny) and mild winters. Thus a complete correspond with the saga's description of Wineland.

Great trees are common in many parts of the world, so are r winters in southerly regions on the same longitudinal line. Isidore says nothing to strongly suggest wild growing grain see low places by men entering an estuary with grape-vines on the l above it. Neither does Pliny nor any other authority cited. combination is distinctly American on the Atlantic slope not from the sea and within the limits of the large fox grape though doubt it might occur elsewhere. Thorfinn gives this for Hóp.

Nansen, however, has certainly shown (if messis be taken to ne sarily mean grain) a fair anticipation of Adam's celebrated st ment, but the coincidence may well grow out of parallel facts. Tl is no real evidence of derivation by him from Isidore of Sevill from Pliny; but there may well have been grape-festooned island the eastern Atlantic on which some form of wild grain or grain wild might be found. It is not pretended that fox-grapes and wild rice are the only wild grapes fit for wine and the only self-s grain in the world.

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along the shore above southern Maine and only locally there. We find also a like error as to wild rice, which ought not to be expected in any quantity on or near bold shores like those along the Atlantic above the Kennebec.

It may be that Norsemen could not raise wheat or make wine at home, but they were acquainted with both from their service in more southern countries and their hostile expeditions, even as early as the fifth century (see Nansen's In Northern Mists), into the middle of the Mediterranean. Some of their men would be sure to have a general knowledge of wine-making. The very fact that these things were not to be had at home, but grew wild in the new world would make them prized and held as characteristic of the new found lands. That the "wheat" was not real wheat, but only a wholesome and abundant substitute, would make no difference; though the wine would take first place. The country where such things were to be had for the gathering could be nothing but "Wineland the Good," with no need for aid from fairy attributes, though the peculiar form of the name perhaps might be influenced by the Fortunate Islands, namely the Canaries or Madeira (d'Legname—that is, Markland), Porto Santo and perhaps Pico and companions, with their undeniable beauty and the half classical half northern-pagan myths, which persistently clung to them.

(10) In Ireland long before the eleventh century there were many myths and legends of happy lands far out in the ocean to the west; and in the description of these wine and the vine form conspicuous features.

As a matter of fact the vine is not very conspicuous in Irish voyage legend. Still Irishmen often reached countries which had the vine

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[1] See Chapter 16 herein, also article in the Smithsonian Report for 1897 on the Rising of Land Around Hudson Bay, by Robert Bell, of the Geological Survey of Canada.


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We also meet apple islands, for example, the Hesperides? From iemory, I think the latter fruit more common in Irish and other orthern legend. Nevertheless the saga and the old Icelandic writngs omit to place apples in America; and in fact none were there. Vhy were not the apples borrowed from Ireland, if the grapes were?

(12) From the Landnamabook it may be naturally concluded that in the leventh century the Icelanders had heard of Wineland, together with Hvítraianna-land, in Ireland.

Each country may have heard it from the other, both items being ommon property by that time. Perhaps the name Great Ireland or Vhitemen's Land may have a presumption in favor of Irish origin. There can be none for the Irish origin of Wineland. It is likely that reland first heard it from Iceland soon after Thorfinn's return to he former.

(13) Thorkel Gellisson, from whom this information is derived, probably lso furnished Ari Frode with his statement in the Islendingabook about Wineand; this is therefore probably the same Irish land.

He is given as one transmitter of the Ari Marsson story, deriving t from the Earl of the Orkneys. He supplied the Greenland infornation of Ari Frode, having visited that country; perhaps also some ibout Wineland. But how can this disprove the existence of the atter?

(14) The Irish happy lands peopled by the síd correspond to the Norwegian uldrelands out in the sea to the west, and the Icelandic elf-lands.

There is a general correspondence in fairy lore and the like everyvhere. But we know that there were real far western islands, as vell as dubious and fanciful ones, and that everything between Europe and Asia was held to be an island until after Vespucius.

(15) Since the huldre- and síd-people and the elves are originally the dead, nd since the Isles of the Blest, or the Fortunate Isles, of antiquity were the iabitations of the happy dead, these islands also correspond to the Irish sídeople's happy lands, and to the Norwegian huldrelands and the Icelandic elfands.


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name of "Insulæ Fortunatæ," which in itself could not very well take any ot
Norse form. And as, in addition, the huldrelands were imagined as speci
good and fertile, and the underground, huldre- and síd-people, or elves,
called the "good people," and are everywhere in different countries associa
with the idea of "good," this gives a natural explanation of both the No
names.

Brazil Island, sometimes called the Fortunate Island of the Iri
and St. Brandan's Fortunate Islands, one of which still bears
fourteenth century name of Porto Santo, would influence the ideal
doubt, but we cannot wipe Porto Santo off the map and Brazil pro
ably was as real.

(17) The name "Vínland hit Góða" has a foreign effect in Norse nom
clature; it must be a hybrid of Norse and foreign nomenclature, through "V
land" being combined with "Landit Góða," which probably originated i
translation of "Insulæ Fortunatæ."

The combination and translation may have happened. It is
more surprising that Insulæ Fortunatæ should be transferred in t
way than that Markland should be shifted from one of them
Newfoundland. Either name of the saga may commemorate such
transfer; and either may be a very natural coincidence. A name
mythical association may well be applied, and often has been appli
to a real region. Moreover, the saga is not accountable for t
phrase, nor does Adam of Bremen use it. What men reported
the eleventh century should not bear the burden, however light,
adjectives or fancies of the twelfth or thirteenth.

(18) The probability of the name of Skrælings for the inhabitants
Wineland having originally meant brownies, or trolls, that is, small huldrefo
elves, or pygmies, entirely agrees with the view that Wineland was origina
the fairy country, the Fortunate Isles in the west of the ocean.

If so, the word was doubtless applied to the natives in the sa
spirit that Icelandic men in fight sometimes abusively addressed th
opponents as "trolls" for example, see The Saga on the Heath-Sla

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Skrælings originally meant fairy folk and to what period does "originally" refer? Our first introduction to them is through Thorfinn, who trafficked with them as human beings and fought and killed them.

(19) The statement of the Icelandic geography, that, in the opinon of some, Wineland the Good was connected with Africa, and the fact that the Norwegian work, "Historia Norvegiæ," calls Wineland (with Markland and Helluland) the African Islands, are direct evidence that the Norse Wineland was the Insulæ Fortunatæ, which together with the Gorgades and the Hesperides were precisely the African Islands.

Not of identity, but of supposed neighborhood in extension; also of a warm climate and luxuriance. This I have said elsewhere. It does not touch the saga, but only the theories of Abbot Nicholas or some one else, and perhaps the general tradition. It was natural that they should think so, if Leif reached the Chesapeake. Since Edrisi in the twelfth century clearly distinguished between the Canaries and the other islands which lay farther at sea, since the classical geographers before him well knew the former, and since the early medieval maps kept and emphasized Edrisi's distinction, there seems no great probability of any real confusion of identity.

(20) Even though the Saga of Eric the Red and the "Grönlendinga-þáttr" contain nothing which we can regard as certain information as to the discovery of America by the Greenlanders, we yet find there and elsewhere many features which show that they must have reached the coast of America, the most decisive among them being the chance mention of the voyagers from Markland, in 1347. To this may be added Hertzberg's demonstration of the adoption of the Icelandic game of "knattleikr" by the Indians. The name of the mythical land may then have been transferred to the country that was discovered.

Fortunately the fact that the Icelanders reached the coast of America does not rest wholly on the veracity of the sailors on the small Greenland ship, or on any annal. America was reached by Thorfinn, and more or less explored as far as southern New England. Leif had previously reached the same region and probably passed a long way below it. Our reasons for believing so are fully stated elsewhere.

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about countries out in the ocean and voyages to them, which, whether they b
connected with one another or not, show the common tendency of humanit
to adopt ideas and tales of this kind.

We meet such stories everywhere and no doubt many of them ar based on real adventures often wildly distorted. The Zeno tale is i point. It developed into something portentous and inexplicable and is still in dispute; but most likely they made voyages and encount ered adventures, which were a kernel of truth for their repeatedl distorted story. But one ought not to call it a myth, although i contains a short myth as an episode; nor can any light be extracte from it in that way. The voyage stories of different countries hav not yet rendered much aid in the Wineland investigation; but it i greatly to be desired that the veil should be lifted from the origin o the names Antillia, Brazil, and others which men call mythical t cover uncertain knowledge.

Some of the above conclusions by Dr. Nansen make in favo of the position taken in the present book; others can hardly be sai to weigh either way. Only a minority of the remainder have seeme to need moderately extended treatment, partly because Dr. Nanse is in so many respects in accord with what I had already written an as to others he could be best convinced by showing him the places flora, fauna, and conditions. It was inevitable that he should mak some errors in dealing with foreign and unfamiliar things and ver plainly he had never thought of the progressive changes in coas outline during 900 years, nor the difference in nature and distributio between the large wild grapes out of which the early colonists mad good wine and the small wild grapes which are tart and more lik berries. When Dr. Storm so naturally went astray it is not surprisin that Dr. Nansen should do likewise. There are doubtful inference and conjectures even in von Humboldt. Like many others Dr Nansen has failed to distinguish adequately between the mountainou northern home of Thorfinn's party on the bay connected with Straum

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from the mass of Irish and antique myths and northern fairy such a log-book-like narrative as that of Thorfinn Karlsefni, without fail such a great number of items accurately dis of the Atlantic coastline of North America with practic: introduction of European elements except possibly one or tw and gestures from Norse experience. And if we find the na: accurate in so very many items, why cannot we believe the v(in the reasonable statement that they gave the name of Winela country which surprised them by its luxuriance of grapevine and its abundance of large fine grapes good for wine making: wild grain in plenty was also there, with plentiful fish and shore-birds and their eggs, great trees for house-building an building, wood of finely veined and dotted grain for ornamenta tall grass excellent for hay and grazing, and, in the more s(parts, a climate so mild as to remind them of the Canaries and tania, why should not they call it "good," even if that word ha to especially imply something supernally fortunate and blesse the case of Teneriffe, Porto Santo, and Madeira?

Such an instance as the sea currents of Straumey and Strau found nowhere on our coast except in and near Grand Ma such notable volume and power and nowhere corroborated by s coincidences of fact and statement, ought surely to show Dr. : (who expresses no doubt of them) that this saga-narrative ca: mainly the product of old legendary lore and the same is : equally true of the emphatically and almost exclusively A: Wonderstrands.

18.—GENERAL SURVEY

We find, then, that there is no trustworthy record of any settlement in America existing continuously for more than on nor of any Norse voyages to America, excepting those of L Thorfinn and the visit of a small vessel more than three hund: forty years afterward. We may suspect what we will of th

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except the general impression of warmth and natural bounty which his report made at home.

We find also that Thorfinn successfully carried his colonists to Labrador, Newfoundland, and Cape Breton, thence along the Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia to the great Bay of Fundy, near which they made their first home, probably on the Passamaquoddy shore and Grand Manan.[1] Afterward they removed to a much more southern spot, and remained there for a year, then returned to the Fundy region, making an incidental exploration of Nova Scotia and the southeastern shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and at last regaining Greenland and Iceland after three years' American experience. Hóp, their most southern point, was either on the eastern coast of New England below Maine or in the basin of Narragansett Bay, with a slight preponderance of probability for the latter.

Besides these voyages, two attempts were made, Thorstein's in 1002 and Bishop Eric Gnupson's in 1121. The former failed, the latter vanished; and nothing ever came of their endeavors.

The three "lands" explored by Karlsefni kept their names until more modern ones were substituted. Helluland soon came to mean all the desolate country above the forest, whether with flat stones or without them, and was a favorite field for later fictitious sagas.

Markland probably stood always for Greenland's nearest supply of growing timber, that is for Newfoundland, perhaps with some vague extension to neighboring shores. The traditional view of the errand of the little ship of 1347 as a timber-gatherer may have originated in a knowledge of prevailing custom or in some unrecorded statement of its crew. If it had not been torn from its anchorage and driven to Iceland we should never have heard of it, any more than of the many others which we may conjecture to have made the trip successfully, escaping or outliving the storms.

[1] Dr. Nansen believes in a visit or visits to these points and an encounter with Indians, not Eskimo, somewhere on the Atlantic coast below Cape Breton; but he is uncertain as to the particular explorers and thinks the name Wineland wholly mythical, though calling Markland "historic."


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of the new country among the northern people.

Of course "discovery" in its fullest sense calls not only for fin but for adequate disclosure. But what is adequate in this connect Must we demonstrate a full understanding of the matter by the r prosperous nations around the Mediterranean, or some effe influence on exploration and colonization in later centuries? a matter of definition only, but these requirements would be per a little immoderate.

In Scandinavia the results were so effectually announced they remained sensational topics of conversation in a royal c nearly seventy years afterward—a court and kingdom very indir concerned. The same information was published by Adam of Bre about the same time in Germany, so amply that manuscript copie his book were to be found at widely separated points of cer Europe for half a millenium afterward. It is incredible that non them reached Italy, and equally so that the story of the three ye Wineland adventure should not have been freely told there by Gu during her eleventh century pilgrimage to Rome, and repeated f time to time by the many Icelandic pilgrims and soldiers of for whom we read of in other sagas. Furthermore[1] the tithes for support of Crusaders were paid by Greenland from time to time ing the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries at least, though in a tory way; and men who were sometimes sent to collect them must l wonderfully lacked curiosity if they made no inquiry concern Markland, if only to find out whether it might prove another resou What they learned would surely find its way back, in general out if no more, to the central authority. On all grounds, we must bel that the Vatican was aware of these new western lands, but prob with little more interest than attached to the reports of upper Gr land. That such knowledge should have been possessed and allo

[1] B. F. De Costa: The Pre-Columbian Discovery of America, p. 322 *et* also most of the other works before cited concerning Greenland.

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passed from Limerick to this same Bristol; Fischer[1] has treated the same subject rather more conspicuously; and, as we have seen, the fourteenth and fifteenth century maps afford very curious corroborative indications along several converging lines. Moreover, John Cabot in his first voyage turned northward for a time (Payne[2] thinks to Iceland) from his first westward course, a proceeding that cost him some trouble, according to Sebastian, and which would hardly recommend itself to one who had never heard of discoveries made from that quarter. Also he promptly gave the land[3] which he found substantially the name currently in use then, or not very long before, by Icelanders, for some western region of uncertain identity which, on the whole, is most likely to be this same Newfoundland. Finally, soon after his return that summer, as reported by an Italian envoy who was his friend and whose letter is still extant, he and his mercantile backers reported that they thought brazil-wood grew there, this being the characteristic product which was popularly believed to have given the great Isle of Brazil its name. Everything goes to prove that he had the former Irish and Icelandic voyages and legends in mind, and that these and like influences would soon have impelled him or some other to success along this line, even if there had been no Spanish discovery of the Antilles.

Apart from this effect in Britain, Adam of Bremen's account of Wineland and its products was circulating in print from Holland before the seventeenth century, and Ortelius also was presenting Wineland by name as a Norse discovery identical with Estotiland, in theorizing about the origin of the American Indians; while in Iceland itself there was a continuous succession of sagas and other works touching the subject, oral, written and printed, original and

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[1] The Explorations of the Northmen, etc., p. 105. *Cf.* E. J. Payne: History of America.

[2] As above, p. 233.

[3] E. J. Payne: History of America, p. 217.

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primarily for the benefit of Latin peoples and with no aid from northern sources, which he and they agreed in holding lightly. W in "Frisland" or Iceland or during his dubious voyage yet far westward, he may well have heard of Wineland; but if so he has g no sign; and he surely would have used it against his adversaries he recognized an available argument. There simply was nothin the tradition which savored of Ind or Cathay; and he was as fa could be from the ambition to discover a new continent. Its exist appeared so dreadful a negation of all his hopes that he would admit it, even when suspicion must have been haunting him; compelled his followers by cruel and extravagant threats to joi an affidavit that they had reached Asia instead.

It has also been lightly said[1] that the Norse journeyings up down our coast compare with the voyages of Columbus as the s of children with the achievements of men. But is this true? chief motive of Leif was to carry the gospel of Christ to his Gr land home, at the same time rejoining those of his blood from whor had been long parted; this he effected perfectly and promptly, dentally presenting the data which he had collected, as the resu an accidental discovery and hasty explorations on the way. chief motive of Thorfinn was exactly that which we admire in first, hardy, English-speaking settlers, the finding of new homes their families and incidentally upbuilding a new country. He fa in this, because the odds were too heavily against him, not from lack of competent planning or sturdy endeavor; and he brought from Wineland a notable accession to human knowledge, bes adding another heroic figure to the picture gallery of human ef The chief motive of Columbus was to find a shorter route to with consequent profit and glory to his sovereign and himself, a wider opportunity for converting the heathen. He failed utterl

[1] J. Fiske: The Discovery of America.

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that his work should go on after him. But neither Columbus nor Leif made any radical change in the course of the world's history.

If he had remained in Spain, and so found nothing in 1492, Cabral, rounding out too far from Africa in his East Indian voyage, would quite as certainly have struck the South American coast in 1500. By then, too, or not long afterward,[1] success would surely have come as well to the plucky and persistent merchants of Bristol and their captains, who had twice essayed before 1480 to reach that Brazil which probably included Markland and had repeated[2] such attempts annually or oftener for some seventeen years, until the successful one landed them with Cabot on the American mainland before either Vespucius or Columbus. Possibly mankind might have prospered even better if sixteenth century access to the new world had been by this upper gate alone. No doubt many records would be preserved which went up in flames before Spanish bigotry; and it is hardly imaginable that the native semi-civilization could have fared worse. At any rate, toward the end of the fifteenth century the speedy discovery of America was quite inevitable.

The situation has never been paralleled. Europe, so long facing eastward, had turned about the other way and was all alive on its Atlantic front. Besides the swarm of Basque, Breton, and Norman fishermen, continually urging their industry farther afield, there were three lines of approach, making a gigantic race of most absorbing interest, across the great sea. At the north, English seekers after the half-forgotten memories of our race which had turned to myth; in the middle, a man who sought a certainly known goal by an impossible route; below him, the Portuguese navigators, who well

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[1] J. Winsor: Narr. and Crit. Hist. of America.

[2] Letter of Soncino given in original Italian and translation by G. E. Weare. before cited.

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this did not wholly suffice. The wave touched Wineland but soon receded; even falling back several centuries later from Greenland also, after a wonderfully tenacious occupancy, while the rest of the world hardly perceived the loss. But a discoverer is not in fault for the lack of wit of his generation. He should not be deprived of his honors by any overstraining of language. Leif Ericsson, or Thorfinn Karlsefni, if we follow Dr. Nansen in doubting Leif, remains the first authentically recorded discoverer of America. Gudrid, his wife, holds her place as the first white American mother, and their son, Snorri, is sufficiently well attested as the first-born white American.

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North Atlantic, 1912, p. 257).

3 (p. 22). Perhaps montonis originally was montanis (mountains, Italian); as we know that Pareto's Roillo had been Reylla—besides other like instances of accidental change. I. de Montonis—the Isle of Sheep; which is conspicuous in the sea-tales of St. Brandan and the Magrurin of Lisbon.

4 (p. 24). Westropp, in his very recent work on Brasil and the Legendary Islands of the North Atlantic, published by the Royal Irish Academy, 1912, p. 255, mentions a mythical King Breas and a missionary Bresal of about the year 480 and suggests that Brasil may have been named after the latter; also Hardiman's The History of Galway, p. 2, quotes from one of the 16th century Four Masters, who compiled much older material, a mention of Breasail (apparently a pagan Gaelic hero or deity), having a very ancient look, but there seems a lack of data to fill the wide gap between the fifth and fourteenth centuries. The Italian and Catalan maps of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries generally present the name as I. de Brazil, sometimes Y de Brazil, with divers variations in orthography, such as Berzil, Brazi, Bracir and Buxelle, beside those given below.

5 (p. 25). The word Bracile (obviously Brazil) occurs in a treaty or compact of peace and trade, dated 1193, between the "Bononienses and Farrarienses," copied into volume 2 of Antiquitates Italicæ Medii Aevi by L. A. Muratori, beginning at page 891. In a list of specific commodities embodied in this compact, and including indigo, incense, wax, and certain hides or furs, we find also (p. 894) "drapis de batilicio, de lume zucarina, *de grana de Brasile.*" On page 898 Muratori mentions that a deed of the year 1198 uses the same words "grana de Brasile." The use of the word "grain" on two occasions in different kinds of documents at an interval of five years cannot be an accidental error. There is nothing to hint at any confusion with woods or dyes. The name suggests "blé Turquoise" for maize and other like names of a later time. We must suppose that Brazil was believed to be a country capable of supplying a distinctive grain and that the grain in question had acquired a settled name of commerce at this early date. The Memorias Historicas sobre la Marina Commercio y Artes de la Antiqua Ciudad de Barcelona, by Antonio de Capmany y de Montpalu in Vol. 2, presents a series of copies of orders or regulations

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Mr. Westropp, author of Brasil, etc. But, as he says, it has no nec
relation to dye-woods. It may obviously mean any commodity ass
with "Brasil."

6 (p. 26). Several old maps show the main island of the Bermudas gerated, and of approximately crescent form, for example, that de Witte, 1660, and another in the U. S. National Museum, un and undated, but bearing 1668 as its latest discovery entry and bel apparently to the early eighteenth century.

7 (p. 38). In point of fact this same feat of blending all the Faroes with change of place had been performed long before, as appear an eleventh century map in the British Museum reproduced by torem, presenting Ysferi (apparently meaning Island of Fari) large island west or northwest of Ireland. Of course Y was a cc equivalent of I (Insula) and the name was currently changed sl for example, to Frisland by Christopher (or Ferdinand) Colum well as Nicoló Zeno.

8 (p. 40.) Mr. V. Stefansson has recently reported certain Eskimo of racial characteristics on Coronation Gulf near the middle top of the continent, with the suggestion that they may possi descendants of these Greenlanders. But there are several other of accounting for the phenomenon, though perhaps none is pe satisfactory, and until we have further light on the subject the plan is to treat it as irrelevant.

9 (p. 109). A more recent interpretation (the Athenæum, London, S ber, 1912), derives two of the Skrelling words from Eskimo. Athenæum says: "M. Henri Cordier in the current number Journal des Savants calls attention to a proof of the discov America in the eleventh century which has hitherto passed unn In the Saga of Eric the Red it is said that when Thorfinn Ka returned from 'Markland' or Newfoundland, in 1005, he took b Greenland with him two children from the northern land of the ings, and four words of their language are preserved in the These words were thought by the Greenlanders to be the names children's parents or chiefs; but M. Cordier shows that they traced to Esquimaux phrases of the present day, two of them m something like 'Wait a moment' and 'the Northern Islands' tively." But Dr. Nansen's derivation of these words from the has a more persuasive air. Since the Icelanders apparently len

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and Stromoe are as it were bound together by a ground, over which runs a very rapid stream . . . . From this stream it is that Stromoe is called."

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